Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

JNL. OF THE ASIATIC SOC. VOL. 4 1962

al-Foundation d

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

पुस्तकालय

R

विषय संख्या 950.5

पुस्तक संख्या C12J

V.4

आगत पंजिका संख्या C8595

पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का निशान लगाना वर्जित है। कृपया १५ दिन से अधिक समय तक पुस्तक अपने पास न रखें।

060771

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

GULZAR BOOK BINDING HOUSE

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFERENCE BOOK
यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
63395

स्वीकृत संख्या १९८४-१९८५

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

63395

Fourth Series

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY

Vol. IV, 1962, No. 2

(*Pages 33–73*)

(*With 12 Plates*)

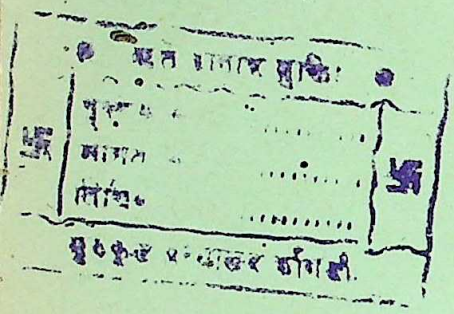
CHECKED 1973

ASIATIC SOCIETY
1 PARK STREET, CALCUTTA 16

Issued June, 1963

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CONTENTS

		Page
1.	*Some Notes on Ancient Armenia* .. .. By Professor Assadour Guzelian	33
2.	*More Sculptures of Śiva-Liṅgin* .. .. By Sri R. Sengupta	41
3.	*Sagara's Adversaries* .. .. .. By Dr. D. C. Sircar	49
4.	*Sanskrit Lexicography : Some Etymological Notes* .. By Srimati Sukumari Bhattacharji	55
5.	*Hūṇas in Mewar* .. .. By Sri Adris Banerji	57
6.	*Some Post-Muslim Temples of Bihar* .. .. By Sri Adris Banerji	63
7.	*Reviews of Books :—*	
	(*a*) *Il Nītivākyāmṛta di Somadeva Sūri* .. By Dr. U. N. Ghoshal	71
	(*b*) *Tagore's Educational Philosophy and Experiment* By Sri Hiranmay Banerji	73
8.	*Tibetan Bibliography (S–V) Supp.* .. By Sri Sibadas Chaudhuri	137–152

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
Journal of the Asiatic Society.
Vol. IV, No. 2, 1962.
080771

SOME NOTES ON ANCIENT ARMENIA

By Assadour Guzelian

The illustrious founder of the Asiatic Society, Sir William Jones, had declared that the Asiatic Society will be investigating the two phenomena of Nature and Man—whatever has been found in the former and whatever has been achieved by the latter—within the bounds of Asia. This great and noble ideal has been consistently followed by the Asiatic Society, which has so long remained true to its name, the *Asiatic* Society, and has published investigations in both the Humanities and the Sciences. Some time ago we were pleased to find that, acting according to this great ideal, the Society published an interesting and informative paper on 'The Armenian Hero-Legends, and the Epic of David of Sasun' by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, which appeared in the Society's *Journal* in 1959, Vol. I, No. 3. Armenian studies come within the scope of the Asiatic Society. Moreover, the Armenian people are linked up in many ways with the people of India, and in India we have got a body of Indian citizens of Armenian origin who are still preserving their language, religion and culture. The following 'Notes on Ancient Armenia' are offered in appreciation of the spirit of Sir William Jones and of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in fostering studies of the history and archaeology, linguistics and philology, sociology and religion of the whole of Asia.[1]

(A) The Invention of the Armenian Alphabet

The Armenian alphabet was invented at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. through the efforts of Mesrop Mashtots, a unique figure in Armenian history. His work was not merely a means by which literature and culture flourished in Armenia, but it also played the important role of a spiritual shield which defended the Nation against the danger of assimilation by her enemies for about fifteen centuries. If it were not for their literature and culture, Armenians, like a tiny stream of water, would have long ago been absorbed by the parched sands of history.

There are two main factors behind the invention of the Armenian alphabet, one of them being political and the other religious.

(i) *The Political Factor.*—Armenia, right from the beginning of the Arshakuni dynasty, that is the middle of the first century A.D., became the bone of contention between the Roman Empire and Persia. The centuries-old struggle of these two great powers resulted in the partition of Armenia in the year 387 A.D.

The Persians, since the beginning of the Sassanian dynasty (224 A.D.), aimed at assimilating the Armenians through religious and political suppression. That is the reason why the last two decades of the fourth and the whole of the fifth century are considered the most critical period in Armenian history.

(ii) *The Religious Factor.*—At such a crucial moment the only bastion of salvation was naturally the Church, which unfortunately presented a picture as dark as the political one.

---

[1] It was my great privilege to receive Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji's valuable suggestions with regard to this article, which I acknowledge with thanks.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Though Armenia adopted Christianity as a State religion in the year 301, the spirit of the ancient religion, almost a century later, still prevailed in the hearts of many Armenians, especially those living in the inaccessible mountainous regions.

The main reason behind this easily understandable circumstance was the fact that people knew very little of Christianity, since all the prayers and chants were conducted either in Greek or Syriac, and mostly by foreign missionaries who had no knowledge of the Armenian language. The only way of propagating the new religion was to translate the Bible and other important Church books into Armenian. And this could be done only when the Armenian language was equipped with a proper alphabet.

This difficult but important task was achieved by Mesrop Mashtots, whom the Armenian Church rightly has revered amongst her Saints.

Biography of Mesrop Mashtots

Very little is known of Mesrop's early life. His main biographer is Koriun, one of Mashtots's first disciples. Two other historians of the fifth century, Lazar Parpetsi and Movses Khorenatsi, also have referred to Mesrop's life and activities.

Mesrop Mashtots was born in the year 361 in the Province of Taron, in Armenia, and graduated from one of the schools established by the Catholicos Nerses the Great in the middle of the fourth century A.D.

As a man of exceptional ability who had mastered Greek, Syriac, Persian and other languages, he was appointed as royal secretary at Vagharshapat, then the capital of Armenia.

A few years later, Mesrop resigned his post and entered the service of the Church.

He was forty years of age when he first began his preachings in different parts of Armenia, and it was during these tours that he conceived the idea of inventing Armenian characters and translating the Bible, thus marking the beginning of the national literature.

Armenian literature not only would help people to understand the teaching of the new religion, but also establish a strong tie that would bind Armenians living in Eastern and Western Armenia and elsewhere.

Mesrop's project met with the approval of Catholicos Sahak, head of the Church, a man of great wisdom and himself an eminent linguist, as also Vramshapuh, King of Eastern Armenia,[1] who informed Mesrop that whilst in Mesopotamia he had seen some Armenian characters with Bishop Daniel, the Syrian.

The Danelian characters were immediately sent for and brought to Armenia but after two years of experiment proved defective.

Then Mesrop took the whole task of inventing the alphabet upon himself. With a group of disciples he immediately left for Mesopotamia, and after a great deal of research work, which he did in various cities and cultural centres, his efforts were finally crowned with success in Samosat, where he invented the 36 letters of the Armenian alphabet[2] in the year 404 or 406 A.D.

---

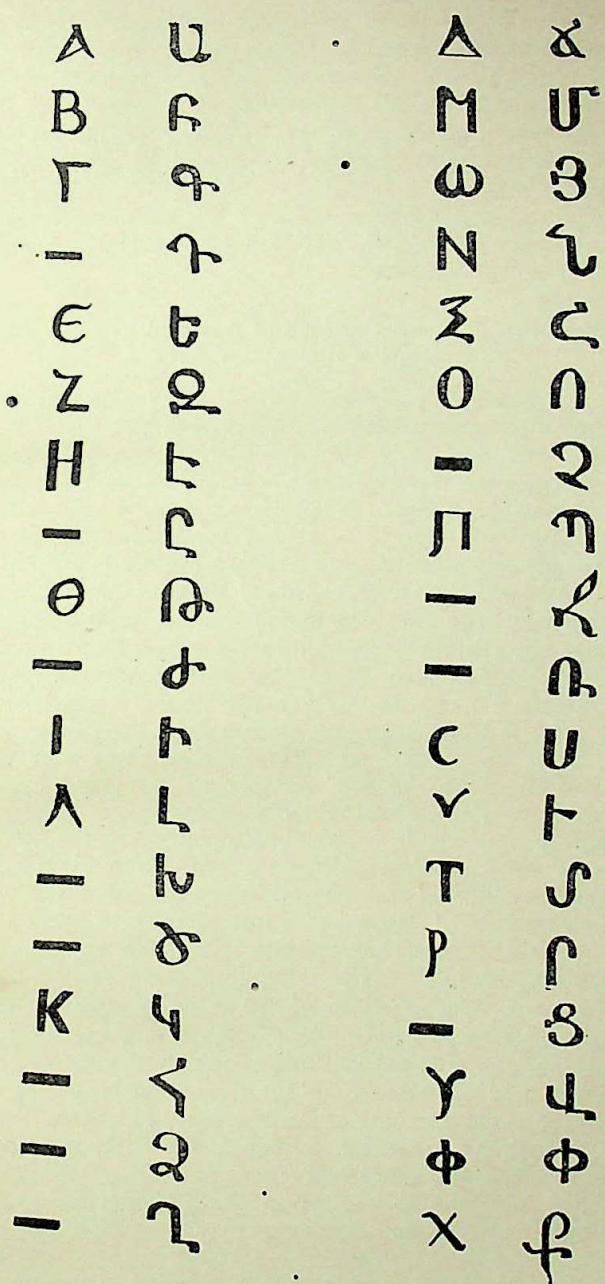
[1] After the partition of Armenia in the year 387 A.D., Byzantines abolished Armenian independence, whilst in Eastern Armenia the Arshakuni dynasty continued to exist under the supervision of Persia up to the year 428 A.D.

[2] The letters 'O' and 'F' were added to the Armenian alphabet during the twelfth-thirteenth centuries.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Returning to Armenia, Mesrop, with the help of Catholicos Sahak and their disciples, opened schools and dedicated himself to the noble task of



This is a list of the Armenian characters of the fifth century. The table shows which are the Armenian letters that have been adopted from the Greek alphabet.

teaching the newly invented alphabet, as also translating the Bible and other religious books into Armenian.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

All these activities took place in Eastern Armenia, where at the time there existed comparatively favourable conditions because of the internal disturbances of the Sassanian Empire.

Mesrop's next effort was to establish Armenian schools in Western Armenia. The Roman authorities refused to let him do so at first. It took Mashtots quite a time to achieve his aim as he was obliged to go all the way to Constantinople to get the Emperor's permission.

Koriun mentions that Mesrop also invented alphabets for both the Georgians and Aghvans or Caucasian Albanians and translated the Bible into their languages.

The great illuminator of Armenia and neighbouring countries passed away at a ripe old age in the year 440 and was buried at Oshakan, where his grave remains up to this date.

(B) The Question of the Existence of Armenian Literature prior to the Fifth Century A.D.

Of the many problems connected with the invention of the Armenian alphabet, I shall only dwell upon the above-mentioned.

Did there exist any form of Armenian literature before the fifth century? This question has dwelt in the minds of many scholars, who are basically divided into two groups defending opposite views.

Amongst those who refuse to accept the existence of any form of Armenian literature prior to Mesrop are Academicians Hrachia Adjarian, Stephan Malkhassiants, Hacob Manandian, Manook Abeghian and others, all of them renowned scholars. Their view is a simple one. They insist that there is not enough material evidence in support of a positive answer to the question. Suppositions, no matter how truthful they may sound, cannot be considered as proofs. If really there existed an Armenian literature, at least a few fragments would have survived. 'Therefore', concludes H. Adjarian, 'to defend the view that there was an Armenian literature before the fifth century, which was supposed to have been destroyed by (Gregory) the Illuminator, is a meaningless tale.'

The second group, which consists of equally great scholars, such as Academicians N. Marr, J. Orbeli, Professors M. Emin, Ashot Abrahamian and others, though differing in their approach to solve the question, all agree upon the existence of Armenian literature prior to Mesrop.

Some of their important viewpoints, which in my opinion deserve every consideration, are in an outlined form as follows:—

1. The language of a newly-born literature is poor in its expression and therefore unable to interpret the thoughts and ideas expressed in a developed and flourishing literature with a long tradition.

The case was not the same with the Armenian language of the fifth century, which, as every student of Armenology will agree, was a perfect one, so much so that the Armenian version of the Bible has been called by non-Armenian scholars 'the Queen of Versions'. How could a new-born literary language interpret to perfection the Old Testament, which is a kind of encyclopaedia containing history, poetry, philosophy, religious canon, theology, etc.?

2. According to Agathangelos, the Armenian historian who wrote the history of the conversion of Armenians into Christianity, pre-Christian Armenians had many deities. These had their corresponding temples in various parts of the country, which were destroyed in the year 301 by the order of King Trdat or Tiridates III who with an edict declared Christianity as the State religion of Armenia.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Since, during that period, temples in neighbouring countries were centres of literature and culture, it stands to reason that Armenia could not have been an exception. Therefore, it would not be wrong to assume that there existed at least a temple-literature in pre-Christian Armenia.

3. Amongst the pre-Christian Armenian deities there was one called Tir, the god of Art and Literature, and a sort of scribe of secretary to Aramazd, the Chief God.

In ancient times, deities were invented to present various aspects of life. If art and literature were non-existent in Armenia, then why would Armenians introduce the god Tir?

Academician M. Abeghian argues this point by stating that Tir did not originate from Armenia but was brought over from Iran. Though this view is a disputable one, nevertheless Armenians must have had need of the same to have introduced him in Armenia.

4. Movses Khorenatsi, the Armenian historian of the fifth century A.D., refers in his work to a Syrian scholar, Bardazan, who in the second century A.D. has come to the fortress of Ani, the seat of Armenian Kings in those years, and translated from the archives of the temples an historical book into Syriac which later was also translated into Greek. At the time, the two dominating languages in Armenia were Greek and Syriac, and if the said book was not written in either of these languages then most probably it was written in Armenian.

5. Hippolytus, a Greek author of the third century A.D., in his 'Chronicle' refers to the nations who possess literature, and amongst others he mentions the Armenians as well.[1]

All these lead us to conclude that there existed an Armenian literature prior to the fifth century A.D.

(C) The Armenian Pictographic Writing and the Pictograms of the Indus Valley

If there existed an Armenian pre-Christian literature, what characters were used in writing down that literature?

Here, too, scholars' views vary. Of the different opinions expressed on the subject, I shall only refer to one, which intends to solve the question through Armenian pictograms.

A fairly large number of Armenian pictograms are found in various Armenian manuscripts kept at the State Library in Erevan and elsewhere.

Professor M. Emin was the first scholar who expressed the view that there existed Armenian pictographic literature in pre-Christian Armenia. His paper on this subject was first published in Russian in the year 1858. Later, the same was translated into French and appeared in 1865 in 'Revue d'Orient'.

Professor H. Adjarian, after many years of study, opposed M. Emin's view and stated that Armenian pictograms could not have been invented earlier than the fourteenth century A.D.

H. Adjarian's view dominated in Armenology for a long time. In recent years, Professor Ashot Abrahamian, the eminent Soviet-Armenian scholar, once again took up the said question. He discovered at the State Library in Erevan many new manuscripts containing Armenian pictograms; some of these were up to then unknown to Armenological circles.

A. Abrahamian's research revealed that a good many of these pictograms

[1] 'The History of Armenian Letters and the Art of Writing'—A. G. Abrahamian, Erevan, 1959.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

were invented after the fifth century A.D. but some two hundred of them came from remote antiquity.

To establish this fact, Professor A. Abrahamian has compared the said Armenian pictograms with the Egyptian and Hittite ones. The result of his findings was rather disappointing. He then concentrated his attention on the Indian pictograms discovered in the Indus Valley. 'When I compared Armenian pictograms with those found in India at Mohenjo-Daro, the similarity was astounding. Every pictogram discovered there had its double amongst the Armenian ones. Their resemblance was literal. There is no doubt that such a coincidence is impossible.' [1]

There is no doubt that this is a question of great importance, which needs detailed study. If scholars succeed in establishing the fact that Armenian pictograms have originated from the Indian ones, then two very important problems will be solved:

1. It will be proved that the Armenians had a pictographic literature long before the fifth century A.D.
2. Through the help of the Armenian pictograms, the meanings of which are preserved, scholars will be able to decipher those discovered at the Indus Valley.

Historical evidences indicate that these pictograms were brought into Armenia from India, and did not originally belong to the Armenians or any other nation in Asia Minor.

I am sure it will interest Indian scholars to know as to how and when were the Indian pictograms brought into Armenia.

(D) India and Armenia in Ancient Times

A close tie has existed between India and Armenia perhaps even before the Aryans established themselves in Armenia during the seventh century B.C. The first written reference to Indo-Armenian relationship is found in the ancient Greek writer Xenophon's 'Cyropaedia' (fifth century B.C.). According to that information, Armenians often travelled to India and entered military service there.

Professor G. Bongard-Levin of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences writes: '(Armenia) maintained close relations not only with neighbouring Parthia and the Roman Empire, but also with India and China. In order to promote relations with these countries, Armenian kings founded new cities on the trade routes passing through Armenia and leading from Parthia and Bactria to India and China.' [2]

Valuable information on Indo-Armenian relations is preserved in the works of ancient Armenian historians Zenob Glak,[3] Agathangelos, Anania Shirakatsi and Hetoom the Historian, fourth, fifth, seventh and twelfth centuries A.D. respectively.

As far as my subject is concerned, the most valuable of the above-mentioned authors is Zenob Glak who refers in detail to an Indian settlement in Armenia at the middle of the second century B.C. Some Armenologists do not agree upon this date and suggest the middle of the first century A.D. as the correct period of the beginning of an Indian colony in Armenia.

---

[1] 'Seven Lectures'—A. G. Abrahamian, 1955, Lebanon.

[2] 'Indians in Ancient Armenia'—Article by Professor G. Bongard-Levin.

[3] A group of Armenian philologists have expressed the view that Zenob's 'The History of Taron' is written by Ohan Mamikonian of the seventh century A.D. Others insist that Zenob was the author of the said book, which was written in Syriac during the fourth century and later was translated into Armenian.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

However, the important fact is that there existed an Indian settlement in Armenia at least three centuries earlier than the triumph of Christianity in the country.

Here is a résumé of the information preserved in 'The History of Taron'[1] concerning the Indian settlement in Armenia:

Gissaneh and Demeter, two Indian princes, conspired against Dinakspall, their king. The plot being unsuccessful, they fled to Armenia, where they were welcomed by King Volarsaces who allotted them the Province of Taron. Here they built themselves a city and named it Veeshap, which means 'dragon' in Armenian. Mr. M. J. Seth assumed from this that Gissaneh and Demeter belonged to Takshaka House.

They then went to the city of Ashtishat, noted for its temples of national deities, and there they set up the gods that were worshipped by them in India. After some fifteen years, for reasons unknown to Zenob, they were put to death by the King, who divided the lands between their three sons.

From Zenob's information it appears that Gissaneh and Demeter came to Armenia with their families and followers, as he states that during a short space of time the Indians built twenty towns—all of them having their temples. Some of the towns mentioned by Zenob retained their names till the middle of the last century.

The Indian community in Armenia was a fairly large one consisting of over 15,000 members. After Christianity was declared a State religion of Armenia, the Indians fought bravely against the King's regular army in order to defend the faith of their forefathers.[2]

Until lately, one of the villages in Taron was called Hendkastan. The names Hendubek, Hendu, Hendukhannum were often used by Armenians of Taron.

Historical events narrated by Zenob Glak solve the question as to how the Indian pictograms were brought into Armenia.

The fact cannot be disputed that Indians, whilst fleeing to Armenia, took with them not only their movable wealth, but also their deities and cultural heritage, which greatly influenced the Armenians who adopted the writing system of the new-comers.

The history of Indo-Armenian ancient cultural and trade relationship has not yet been studied in detail. I am certain that in the near future many Indo-Armenian historical and cultural problems—mainly that of the Indus Valley pictograms—will be solved through the combined efforts of Indian and Armenian scholars.

---

[1] Taron is a large province in historical Armenia. 'The History of Taron' has been translated into French and published twice—
(*a*) by E. Prudhomme—'Histoire de Taron, par Zenob de Glag', Paris, 1864;
(*b*) by V. Langlois—'Zenob de Glag, Histoire de Daron', Paris, 1867.

[2] For further details see:—
(*a*) 'Armenians in India', by Mr. M. J. Seth, Calcutta, 1937.
(*b*) 'Histoire de Daron', translated by V. Langlois, Paris, 1867.
(*c*) 'Indians in Ancient Armenia', by G. Bongard-Levin.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Journal of the Asiatic Society.
Vol. IV, No. 2, 1962.

MORE SCULPTURES OF ŚIVA-LIṄGIN

By R. Sengupta

In an article published in the pages of one of the previous issues of this *Journal*[1] the writer had reported two sculptures of Śiva-Liṅgin from Ellora of the same nature as was found at Aihole. He has since been able to locate another piece of Umā-Maheśvara, the latter as Liṅgin, similar to the one on the *gopuram*. This one is to be found immediately above the principal *śukanāsā* of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the Kailāsa temple. It was thought that since Badami,[2] Aihole[3] and Ellora have produced these sculptures, it is quite likely that the other Chāḷukya temples at Pattadakal (District Bijapur, Mysore) may also bear such images. Accordingly, when the writer of this article visited last the temples at Pattadakal (eighth century A.D.), they were carefully searched by him for sculptures of Śiva-Liṅgin, and his search was successful, for as many as nine such of both the varieties, viz. Śiva alone and in the company of Umā, were found. In two instances, however, unlike the usual representations, Śiva-Liṅgin has been shown as playing on *vīṇā* (*Vīṇādhara*), and as engaged in a game of dice with his consort. The writer also took care to examine the sculptures on the Pallava temples at Kanchipuram, and he was able to discover two sculptures of this type in the Mukteśvara temple (*c.* ninth century A.D.).

The sculptures at Pattadakal are distributed over the three temples of Virūpākṣa, Mallikārjuna and Saṅgameśvara. Of them the last-named has only one as *Vīṇādhara* (Pl. IA) on the outer face of the south wall in a miniature *devakoṣṭha* set in a *pañjara* at the roof level. In fact, out of the nine specimens six are found in that position on one of the walls, excepting on the west side, set in *pañjaras*. Sitting sideways to the left in *lalitāsana*, this image holds the *vīṇā* with the proper hands, back right hand touching the *liṅga* supported on the right shoulder and the back left hand turned to left.

The Mallikārjuna temple has two sculptures. The one on the north face of the wall shows the god sitting in *padmāsana* with the *liṅga* on the left shoulder held by the left hand, his other left hand resting on the left knee; the back right hand holds a *nāga*, while the proper right hand is in the *kaṭaka* pose. The other image (Pl. II) marks a refreshing departure from the usual mode, for it depicts the *Umāsahita-akṣa-krīḍā*[4] aspect. This

---

[1] R. Sengupta: 'Two Sculptures of Śiva as Liṅgin from the Kailāsa Temple at Ellora', *J.A.S.*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1959, pp. 41–45.

[2] P. Thomas: 'Kāma Kalpa', Pl. XCI, No. 206. The *liṅga* has unwittingly been left out but the posture of the back left hand of Śiva is suggestive enough of its being on the left shoulder.

[3] S. N. Chakravarti—P.W. Museum: 'A Guide to the Antiquities of the Historic Period', Pl. X*a*.

[4] For such representations usually described by some simply as *Umā-Maheśvara* or 'Pārvatī as Māninī' the writer has suggested the term *Umāsahita-akṣa-krīḍāmūrti* to indicate the particular aspect. *See* R. Sengupta: 'A Plea for *Umāsahita-akṣa-krīḍā-mūrti*' in the *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Vol. XVI, pts. 1-2, pp. 155–58.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

theme gained considerable popularity to be sculptured one panel each at Aihole, Elephanta and Jogesvari, and at Ellora it has been represented as many as six times. The Mallikārjuna panel, however, unlike the Elephanta and Ellora panels, is depicted on one plane, in the same way as the panel on the outer face of the back wall of a small shrine in the Jyotirliṅga group of temples at Aihole is shown. In it while Śiva and Pārvatī are shown engaged in a game of dice in the left half, the *Gaṇas* are seen in the other half amusing themselves by teasing the placid Nandī as usual. Sitting on a cushion in *utkuṭikāsana*, Śiva, with the *liṅga* on the right shoulder held with the back right hand, is evidently arguing with Umā over the game. His proper right hand is raised in argument and the back left hand carries an indistinct object. The force of Śiva's argument does not appear to have affected Pārvatī in the least. As sitting opposite to her consort, half-turned with the right hand raised showing the palm towards Śiva and the left resting on the left knee, she seems peremptorily to dismiss his contentions. The sculptor has indeed been successful in giving a dramatic touch to the whole theme.

The temple of Virūpākṣa, constructed by the queen of Vikramāditya II, bears the remaining six sculptures, three being on the outer face of the walls, one on the east and one on the north walls and one inside above the lintel of the doorway of the shrine. In the sculpture on the east wall to the left, above the *Liṅgodbhavamūrti*, two-armed Śiva, with the *liṅga* on the right shoulder, holds a snake in the right hand embracing Pārvatī seated on his lap with the left. It is only in this sculpture that Śiva does not hold the *liṅga*. Another two-armed sculpture of Śiva is to be found on the south side but here the *liṅga* is held by the left hand while he leans on the right hand placed on the ground. The other two sculptures of Śiva also on the south wall are above the sculptured panels of Umā-Maheśvara and Sītā-haraṇa by Rāvaṇa respectively. Śiva, in the sculpture above the latter relief, sits in *lalitāsana* and leaning comfortably on a pillow holds the *liṅga* on the left shoulder with the proper left hand, as in the Mallikārjuna temple relief. The sculpture of Śiva-Pārvatī (Pl. IB), in *utkuṭikāsana* on the north wall, is found at a lower level just above the image of Viṣṇu-Aṣṭabhujasvāmī, on a pilaster under a *makaratoraṇa*. Śiva with the *liṅga* on the right shoulder held with the back right hand leans on the proper right hand placed on the right knee while with the proper left hand he embraces Pārvatī. The last image (Pl. IIIA) to be noticed in this series is on the lintel of the entrance to the shrine, set in the *śukanāsī* of the *śāla* flanked by two flying males. Sitting in *utkuṭikāsana* he carries the *liṅga* on the right shoulder held by the back right hand and a snake in the back left hand resting on the left knee. In the proper right hand kept on the right leg is perhaps a *mātuluṅga* while the proper left hand is in the *kaṭaka* pose. He is adorned with the usual ornaments like *karṇakuṇḍalas, hāra, upavīta, udara-vandha, aṅgadas, valayas*, etc. It may be noted here that depiction of this image at such a conspicuous and important place was duly taken note of by the architect of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛiṣṇarāja I, who had put instead Umā-Maheśvara right on the *gopuram* of the great Kailāsa temple at Ellora, in the *śukanāsī* of the *śāla* facing the temple.

The sculptures in the Mukteśvara temple at Kanchipuram are on the side walls of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*. The panel on the left wall depicts a scene known as *Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti* where Śiva carrying the *liṅga* is shown as sitting on the Kailāsa with Pārvatī, and Rāvaṇa below trying to lift the mountain. The sculptures seem to be lifeless and suffer badly in comparison to those well-known ones at Ellora. In the process of covering these reliefs with coats of plaster in the time of the Nāyakas, the *liṅga* on

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the right shoulder of Śiva came to be shown with a human head with turban (Pl. IIIB). In this image, too, Śiva does not hold the *liṅga* as seen in one of the sculptures on the Virūpākṣa temple at Pattadakal noted above. Facing this panel on the corresponding wall to right is another panel showing apparently the denouement of the theme. The humiliated Rāvaṇa here shorn of his superhuman attributes appears as a humble devotee, with one head and two arms, in the act of praising the god. Here also the late plaster-coating of the *liṅga* on the left shoulder of Śiva, held by the extra left hand, shows a human head with the Śaiva caste mark (Pl. IVA).

In another article on this topic published in a previous issue of this *Journal*, the writer had mentioned the Gudimallam-Liṅga and the Mathura stone sculpture, the latter first noticed by Coomaraswamy.[1] The Mathura sculpture, 'formerly in possession of M. Leonce Rosenberg', is useful for the study of evolution of the Śiva-Liṅgin image and does not appear to have been described in a proper manner. Its correct description which will throw light on the present topic is this : Standing in *samabhaṅga* against a towering *liṅga*, Śiva with four arms shows the proper right hand in *abhaya*, has the proper left hand in *kaṭyāvalambita* and with the back hands raised above the head holds the *jaṭā*[2] wound twice around the *liṅga* at the level of its neck. The entwining *jaṭā* evidently forms part of the *kaparda* type of *jaṭā-makūṭa* worn by him (one of his epithets is Kapardin). As the characteristic of the early images, this one is also sparsely ornamented; the feet are missing. Stylistically the sculpture may be attributed to the Kuṣāṇa period. The device of Śiva's carrying the *liṅga* by tying it with the *jaṭā* is worthy of note for its likely association with the act of the Bhāraśivas carrying the *liṅga* as a load mentioned as '*aṁśabhāra sannivesita śiva liṅgodvahana*' in the subsequent Vākāṭaka epigraphs.

The sculpture noticed above is not the only one from Mathura depicting the *liṅga* being carried. For, while Śiva in the earlier representations carries the *liṅga* by tying it with the *jaṭā*, Pārvatī in a later representation (No. 882, Pl. VA)[3] carries it with the extra pair of hands over the head. Besides the Haveri sculpture of Mahālakṣmī,[4] the famous Kolhapur image of the goddess[5] also carries the *liṅga* on the head. In another image (No. 239, Pl. VB) of the eight-armed Devī in the same museum, the object the two flying celestials carry over her head is not the *liṅga* as described by Prof. Agrawala[6] but a crown as is seen in the *Gajendramokṣa-mūrti* of Viṣṇu on the Gupta temple at Deogarh.[7] A Buddhist sculpture may, however, be cited more appropriately, having a comparable significance wherein a Buddha is being carried over the head of a standing Buddha (Pl. VIA) in cave LXVII at Kanheri. While in the Mathura sculptures both Śiva and Pārvatī are depicted as carrying the *liṅga* independently, they do so jointly at Ellora in the sculptures on the Kailāsa temple, one of which

---

[1] A. K. Coomaraswamy : *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 67, Pl. XVIII, fig. 68.

[2] J. N. Banerjea also observes that the extra hands are raised and placed on his *jaṭās*, p. 462, *Development of Hindu Iconography* (1956).

[3] V. S. Agrawala : *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

[4] R. Sengupta : 'Sūrya, Viṣṇu and Mahālakṣmī from Haveri' in *Jr. of Oriental Res.*, Vol. XXVIII, pts. I–IV, pp. 21–23.

[5] G. H. Khare : *Mūrtivijñān* (in Marathi), p. 175.

[6] V. S. Agrawala : *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

[7] M. S. Vats : *The Gupta Temple of Deogarh* (M.A. S.I. No. 70), Pl. Xa.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

has already been illustrated. Another sculpture of the same type (Pl. VIB) is to be found on the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the *prākāra* to the north. The treatment of this sculpture is better. In it Śiva carries the *liṅga* on a pedestal with the left hand, while Pārvatī embraces it with her right hand, as Śiva does when he carries it on his shoulder.

The representation of Siva as the Liṅgin has a deeper significance. The nature of Śiva and his emblem, the *liṅga*, has been sought to be explained variously by the Śaivites, as the Upaniṣads did to define the nature of the Absolute. One section who prefers to worship the symbol would equate it with Skambha of the Vedas or the 'Primordial Substance', which brought forth Purāṇapuruṣa, the god of reproduction implying the oneness of the Divine Essence (Brahman) of which the Father is the *prakṛiti* or manifestation. This idea appears to have been projected as well through the representation of the Ekamukhaliṅga of which the further developments are the *liṅgas* with more than one face showing the *vibhavas* of the god. According to the Vedāntins, therefore, Śiva is the father or manifestation whereas the *liṅga* stands for the Divine Essence. The parallel of this conception is to be found in the doctrine of Kāya of the Mahāyāna Buddhism interestingly represented in the sixth-century A.D. sculpture of Kanheri cited above. *Dharmakāya*—the Reality—is shown as the Buddha being held over the head of the Buddha standing in *Rūpakāya*—the Unreality or the subtle form.

Relevant to the subject is the Laksmanakati[1] image of Viṣṇu seated on a flying Garuḍa, carrying in the normal hands *Cakrapuruṣa* and *Gadādevī* while the extra hands carry his two consorts Śrī (Gajalakṣmī) and Vāk (Sarasvatī) on lotus. But what interests us is the four-armed image of a male seated cross-legged on his *kirīṭamukūṭa* with the proper hands in *dhyānamudrā* and though the objects in the back hands cannot be made out, the image most probably is to be identified as of the Yogāsana Viṣṇu[2] which in itself is significant. Unlike the Kanheri Buddha or the Mathura Devī (No. 882) this particular image of Garuḍārūḍha Viṣṇu rather carries the Yogāsana Viṣṇu on the *mukūṭa*[3] very much like Bodhisattvas carrying the effigy of their sires. The four-armed nature of the deity on the *mukūṭa* precludes the possibility of the sculpture of Viṣṇu being a syncretic icon, for Buddha has two arms only, and so it suggests to convey the Vaiṣṇava version of the same relationship between the Supreme Spirit and its manifestation. Such images of Viṣṇu also appear in central and northern India suggesting the spread of this conception over a wider area. In the collection of the Khajuraho Museum there is an image of Viṣṇu with an image of Yoga-Nārāyaṇa at the top. Similarly the image of Bhū Varāha bearing No. 432 of the Allahabad Museum has one. In the like manner images of Sūrya with Yoga-Sūrya are also available. Most interesting among these is the inscribed eight-armed image (Pl. VIIA) in the Lucknow Museum labelled '*Oṁ Vaṭukeśvaraḥ*' showing obviously the *ugra* aspect of Brahmā combining in it certain features of Bhairava. Sitting on a throne in *pralambapāda-āsana* with a *yoga-paṭṭa* around the knees it places its wooden-sandalled feet on a *padma-pīṭha* and carries in the extant hands *akṣamālā*, *asī*, *padma*, *pustaka* and *pāśa*. Of the three faces the

---

[1] K. N. Bhattasali: *Iconography of the Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Pl. XXXII, p. 867.

[2] J. N. Banerjea: *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXIII, fig. 2.

[3] The image of Trivikrama of cave III at Badami, however, has on the *mukūṭa* a dwarfish male carrying a lotus in the left hand. *See* fig. 4 facing p. 356 of *Indian Antiquity*, Vol. VI (1877).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

central one only is moustached and has a pointed beard with a knot, canine teeth and shows an uncanny grin with bulging eyes. The male attendant to its right carries a staff and a cup while the other is a trident-bearer. That the image is essentially of Brahmā is denoted by the miniature image of the god at the top showing *varada* and carrying *padma*, *pustaka* and *kamaṇḍalu* respectively in the hands. Thus it will appear that the same conception of the Supreme Spirit was entertained by the different sects : be it Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Brāhma or Saura and was represented in their images to show the relationship with its respective manifested forms as was done in turn by the Mahāyāna Buddhists to show the doctrine of Kāya.

While the Vedāntins stopped at calling the manifestation of the Brahman as the Father, the Āgamāntins coupled him with a Śakti or Mother to fulfil his function as the creator. Though Śiva is capable of creating without any help, it is only to explain the creation of the great creative principle that he is conceived as having two parts 'just like two halves of the seed of the lentils within a cover', male and female, superimposing on it the qualities of a mundane couple. These explanations were of course advanced for the benefit of the Advaitavādins as evident from the Paurāṇika account of Śiva's having the harmophrodite form. The protagonist of the Advaitins is to be found in Ṛṣi Bhṛṅgī who would not circumumbulate or pay homage to Pārvatī sitting along with Śiva on the Kailāsa, although he was shown that Pārvatī and Śiva were one and the same in two forms. The same idea appears to have been made to reflect on the depiction of Śiva-Pārvatī, Śiva being shown as Liṅgin. As if to make the idea clear images of Pārvatī were also shown to carry the *liṅga* [1] and further at Ellora both Śiva and Pārvatī were made to hold jointly the *liṅga* to convey their unity and at the same time to indicate their common fount. This idea again appears to be reverberation of the concept of the Supreme Person of the *Bhagavadgītā* wherein it is said :

dvau imau puruṣau loke |
kṣaras-cā'kṣara eva ca ||
kṣarāḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni |
kūṭastho'kṣara ucyate ||
uttamaḥ puruṣas tvanyaḥ |
paramātmetyudāhṛtaḥ ||
yo lokatrayāmāviśya |
vibhartyavyaya īśvaraḥ || (XV, 16-17) [2]

'Rāmānuja (eleventh century A.D.), the great teacher and commentator of the *Gītā*, suggested the interpretation of the two *puruṣas* as referring to the two natures, the one higher, His own essential nature, *ādhyātma*, the other lower, *prakriti*.' The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (1, 10) would appear to provide the basis of such an interpretation.

The above observations seem to find support in the statement of the renowned philosopher, the late Dr. S. N. Das Gupta, when he says 'the kernel of the Vīra śaiva philosophy may be traced back to the early centuries of the Christian era, and we find it current in works like *Suta-saṃhitā* of

---

[1] It may not be unlikely that such images gave rise to the set form of Mahālakṣmī with the *liṅga* on the head, as the images at Kolhapur and Haveri show.

[2] 'There are two persons in the world, the perishable and the imperishable, the perishable is all these existences and the unchanging is the imperishable. But other than these, the Highest Spirit called the Supreme Self who, as the Undying Lord, enters the three worlds and sustains them'—S. Radhakrishnan : *The Bhagavadgītā*, pp. 331-32.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the sixth century A.D.'[1] . . . Further examining the contents of the *Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi*, a work of the thirteenth century A.D. by Revanācārya, an exponent of the Vīraśaivism, observes that '*Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi* thus seems to present before us an eclectic type of thought which is unstable and still in the state of formation. This explains the author's ill-digested assimilation of elements of thought on Pāśupata doctrine, the varying Āgama doctrines, the influence of Sāṁkhya and ultimately the Vedānta of the Śaṅkarites.'[2]

To come back to the images, from the study of the images one may say that the practice of carrying the *liṅga* on the person among a section of the people in the Deccan came to stay and was an established fact by the eighth century A.D. Śiva is depicted as carrying the load comfortably even while playing on the *vīṇā* or sporting with Pārvatī, occasions which demand the body to be unencumbered. Alternately, Śiva appears in a most matter-of-fact fashion as Liṅgin even in other themes as well, whereas the image on the lintel of the entrance to the shrine of the Virūpākṣa temple appears to answer for the occurrence of the panel on the *śālā-śikhara* of the *gopuram* of the Kailāsa temple at Ellora. As it is believed that the temple of Virupākṣa inspired the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇarāja I to excavate the magnificent Kailāsa temple out of the rock at Ellora, and the belief may not be without any substance because most of the sculptural representations find repetitions on the Kailāsa temple.

What may appear to have flourished in the Deccan only from the eighth century A.D. onwards had actually its genesis in the North. The antiquity of the practice of carrying the *liṅga* on the person or for that matter of the Śiva-Liṅgin images may now reasonably be pushed further back to the Kuṣāṇa period to which the Rosenberg piece belongs. The movement of this iconic concept can also fairly be traced with Mathura as the nerve centre. The movement travelled southward via central India through the Bhāraśiva-Vākāṭakas to the Deccan to receive the patronization of the Chāḷukya-Rāṣṭrakūtas and ultimately reached the Pallava-Choḷa territories. The impact of this new idea was manifest in the painting of the panel of the *Tripurāntakamūrti* on the outer face of the south wall of the *garbhagṛha* of the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tanjore. The piece depicts quite effectively the helpless condition of the inmates of the three forts, created by the devastating arrow shot by Śiva; but amongst them there is one person who carries the *liṅga* on his head (Pl. VIII) and tries to draw Śiva's attention for clemency. The artist obviously aware of the new trend thus exploits it profitably in his work. Earlier in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa works at Ellora also, on the Kailāsa temple, the demons are shown either as embracing or worshipping the *liṅga* but nowhere the theme received such a realistic treatment in keeping with the religious trend of the time as in the Choḷa work at Tanjore. This tradition prevailed in the South quite for some time as evident from the two metal images of Vīrabhadra in the Madras Museum (Nos. III, 43 and 44) of the late medieval period showing the *liṅga* being carried on the head.

On the other hand, little material is available to trace out the movement further north of Mathura to the hills. Besides a late-medieval stone image of an ascetic carrying a *liṅga* in his *jaṭābhāra* at Jageshvar (Almora), there is a local tradition about the employment of the Liṅgāyats in temple ritual, which might have followed in the wake of Śaṅkarāchārya.

---

[1] S. N. Das Gupta: *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. V, p. 44.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The concept, however, was not kept confined within the folds of the Śaiva images alone. Even Viṣṇu came to be depicted as carrying and worshipping the *liṅga* as a Liṅgāyat would. The late-Chāḷukya image of the god kept inside the Siddheśvara temple at Haveri (District Dharwar, Mysore) is such an instance in point. This evidently is because of the *liṅga* being equated with the Supreme Being. Based on similar idea the Chāndellās also brought about an interesting type of composite image (Pl. VIIB) embodying in it the three principal cult gods—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva—having four legs, twelve arms and six faces superimposed by the *liṅga* thereby indicating the origin. This image is in the site museum at Khajuraho while another such image with the *vāhaṇas* of the three deities can be seen in the Kandariyā Mahādeva temple.

In the foregoing discussions after introducing the Śiva-Liṅgin images from two other sites an attempt has been made to trace out the genesis of the image-type, the philosophical background, the parallels, its development and the geographical distribution.[1]

---

1 Photographs in Plates V and VIIA and IVB are published by courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Uttar Pradesh, and M/s. Karl W. Hiersmann, Leipzig, Germany, respectively and all others are the copyright of Archaeological Survey of India.

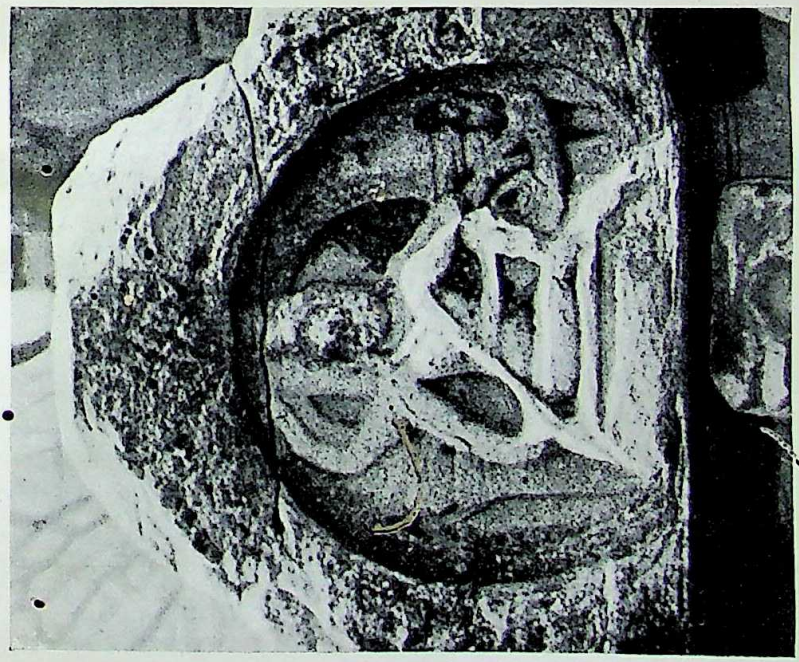
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

B. Śiva-Liṅgin with Umā, Virūpākṣa temple, Pattadakal



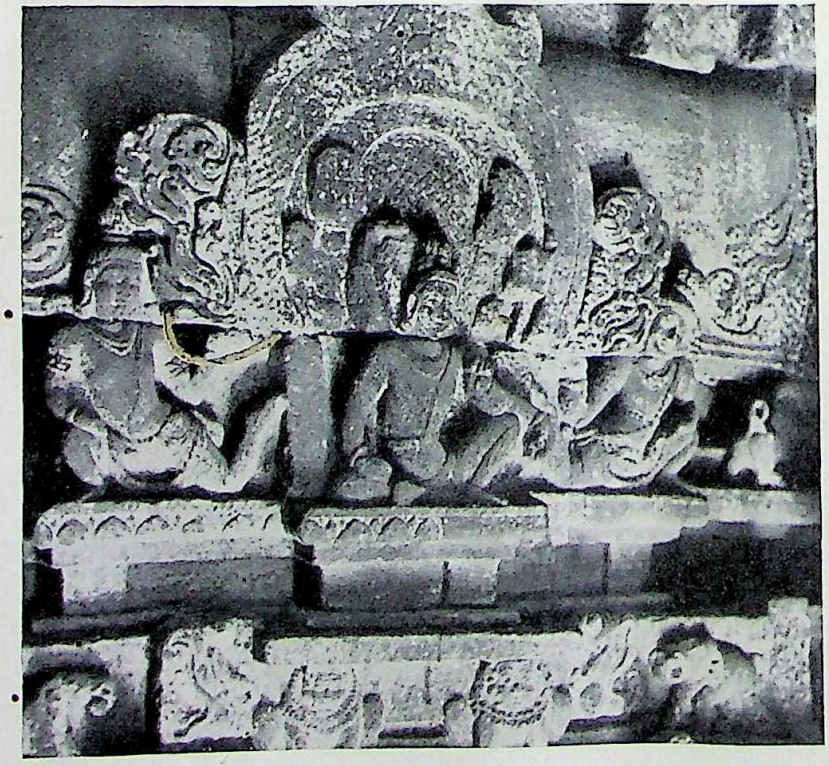
A. Śiva-Liṅgin as *Vīṇādhara*, Saṅgameśvara temple, Pattadakal

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Śiva-Liṅgin in *Umāsahita-akṣa-krīḍāmūrti*, Mallikārjuna temple, Pattadakal

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



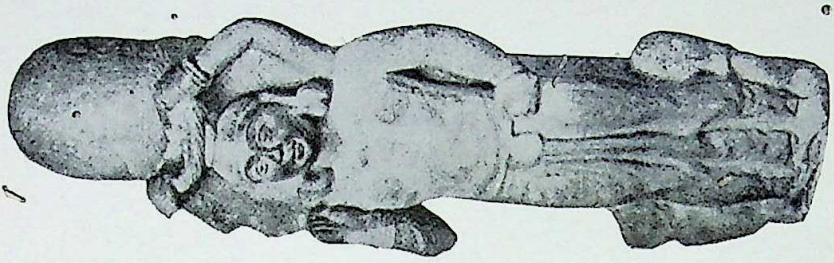
A. Śiva-Liṅgin, Virūpākṣa temple, Pattadakal

B. *Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti* showing Śiva as Liṅgin, Mukteśvara temple, Kanchipuram

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



B. Śiva-Lingin? Mathura

A. Rāvaṇa singing in praise of Śiva shown as Lingin, Muktēśvara temple, Kanchipuram

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

temple, Kanchipuram

A. Devī carrying the *linga* over her head, Mathura Museum

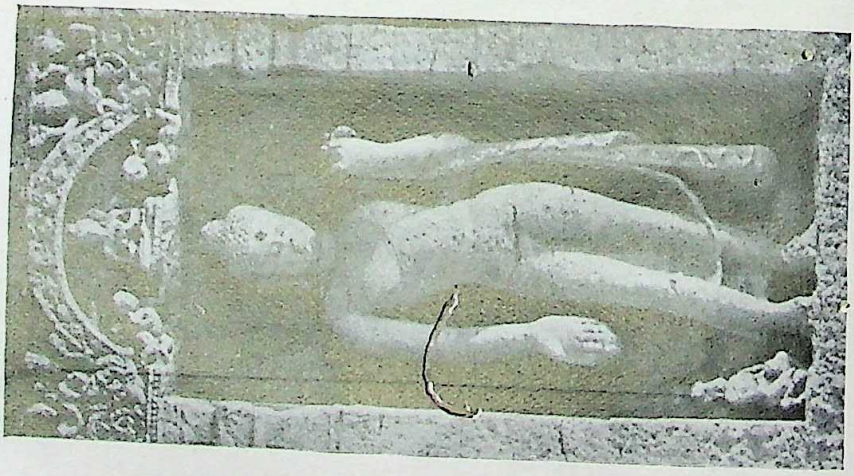
B. Crown held over Devī's head by flying figures, Mathura Museum

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

B. Śiva and Pārvatī holding the *liṅga*, Kailāsa temple, Ellora

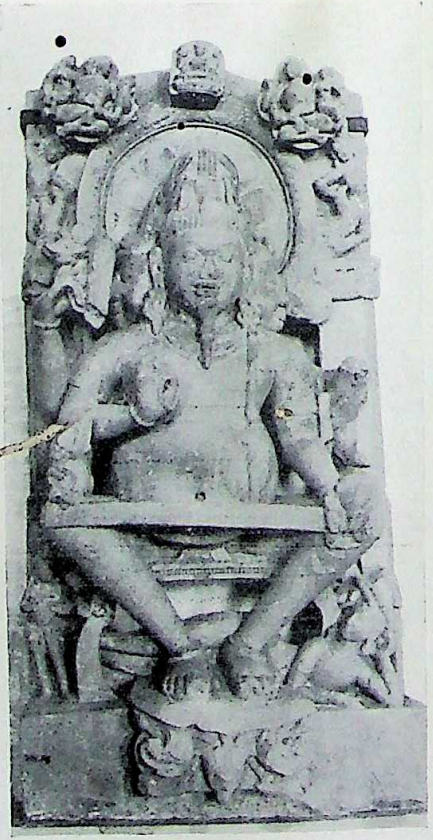


A. Dharmakāya and Rūpakāya of Buddha,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

A. Dharmakāya and Rūpakāya of Buddha,

B. Śiva and Pārvatī holding the *liṅga*, Kailāsa temple, Ellora



A. Brahma as Vaṭukeśvaraḥ,
Lucknow Museum

B. Trimūrti with *liṅga* on top,
Khajuraho Museum

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Male carrying *liṅga* on the head, Bṛihadīśvara temple, Tanjore

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Journal of the Asiatic Society.
Vol. IV, No. 2, 1962.

SAGARA'S ADVERSARIES

By D. C. Sircar

There is a story in the *Harivaṁśa* (I, 13-14) and a number of the Purāṇas such as the *Vāyu* (88), *Brahmāṇḍa* (III, 63), *Brahma* (8), *Śiva* (VI, 61), *Viṣṇu* (IV, 3), *Bhāgavata* (IX, 8) and *Bṛhannāradīya* (7-8). It is told practically in the same language in the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Brahma Purāṇas* while some stanzas are omitted in the *Śiva Purāṇa* version and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* gives it in prose. The *Bhāgavata* gives a summary account and the *Bṛhannāradīya* a distorted version. The *Mahābhārata* (III, 106, 8) merely refers to the story.

The original story in the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Brahma* and *Śiva Purāṇas* is told twice, first in short and next in detail. Its shorter version runs as follows:

King Bāhu of the Ikṣvāku dynasty was driven out of his kingdom by the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas who were allied with the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas. Bāhu's son, Sagara, was brought up by the sage Aurva of the Bhṛgu family at his hermitage and received the fire-weapon from the latter. Sagara then destroyed the Tālajaṅghas and Haihayas and stopped the performance of the prescribed duties of the Kṣatriya by the Śakas, Pahlavas and Pāradas.[1]

Among the enemies of Bāhu and Sagara mentioned here, the Haihayas were a branch of the Yadu or Yādava clan while the Tālajaṅghas represented a subclan of the Haihayas.[2] Their allies enumerated in the section were foreigners mostly settled in the Uttarāpatha division of Bhāratavarṣa, the Yavanas (Greeks) and Śakas (Scythians) being the most celebrated amongst them. The Kāmbojas are supposed to have been Iranian autochthons of the Afghanistan region[3] while the Pahlavas are regarded as the Persians[4] and the Pāradas may have been Parthians settled in Uttarāpatha.[5]

The bigger version of the story is introduced in response to two queries, one of which sought the reason why Sagara became angry with the Śakas and other peoples so as to prohibit them from observing the practices to be followed by the Kṣatriya community.[6]

The kingdom of the unfortunate king Bāhu was usurped by the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas. The Śakas were allied with the usurpers while the

---

[1] *Harivaṁśa*, I, 13, 30ff. (cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88, 122ff.; *Śiva Purāṇa*, VI, 61, 23ff.):

Śakair = Yavana-Kāmbojaiḥ Pāradaiḥ Pahlavais = tathā |
*Haihayās = Tālajaṅghāś = ca nirasyati sma tan nṛpam || ****
Aurvasy = āśramam = āgamya Bhārgaven = ābhirakṣitaḥ |
āgneyam = astram labdhvā ca Bhārgavāt = Sagaro nṛpaḥ ||
jigāya pṛthivīṁ hatvā Tālajaṅghān = sa-Haihayān |
Śakānāṁ Pahlavānāṁ = ca dharmam nirasad = acyutaḥ ||
Kṣatriyāṇāṁ Kuru-śreṣṭha Pāradānāṁ sa dharmavit ||

See also *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, III, 63, 120-41, and *Brahma Purāṇa*, 8, 29-51.

[2] See Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 35, note 4.

[3] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 7.

[4] See Pargiter, *The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 314, note.

[5] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 317, note. Pargiter locates the Pāradas in the Western Himalayas, but does not connect them with the people of Parthia (modern Khorasan).

[6] *Harivaṁśa*, I, 14, 1f.; cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88, 26f.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

• Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

five tribes, viz. the Yavanas, Pāradas, Kāmbojas, Pahlavas and Khasas, were also fighting on the side of the Haihayas.[1] Having lost his kingdom, Bāhu, accompanied by his queen of the Yādava clan, repaired to the forest and died there. The queen was pregnant at the time and the sage Aurva of the Bhṛgù family dissuaded her from committing *Satī* and took her to his hermitage.[2] There she gave birth to Sagara who received all his training from the sage. Aurva also gave him the terrible fire-weapon with which Sagara soon annihilated the Haihayas responsible for his father's discomfiture.[3]

Thereafter he was bent on extirpating the allies of the Haihayas, viz. Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas. The defeated peoples appealed to the king's preceptor Vasiṣṭha to save them from Sagara's wrath. The sage granted them refuge and advised Sagara to spare their lives.[4] The king then thought of a *via media* between his own vow to extirpate his father's adversaries and his preceptor's advice to spare them, and compelled the Śakas and others to give up their prescribed duties and to change their appearance. Thus the Śakas had to shave half their head and the Yavanas and Kāmbojas the whole head, while the Pāradas had to keep long hanging hair and the Pahlavas long beard. At the same time, they were prohibited from studying the Vedas and offering oblations.[5] It is added that the Kṣatriyas, whose duties were thus repudiated by Sagara as a result of Vasiṣṭha's advice, were the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, [Pahlavas], Kaulisarpas (or Kalisparśas), Mahiṣas (or Mahiṣikas), Dārdyas (Dārvas), Colas and Keralas.[6]

After narrating the above story, the *Harivaṁśa* (I, 14, 20-21) mentions Sagara's victory over the Khasas, Tuṣāras, Colas, Madras, Kiṣkindhakas, Kauntalas, Vaṅgas, Sālvas and Kauṅkaṇas in connection with the *vājimedha* or horse-sacrifice to be performed by him.

The story of Sagara's success against his father's enemies raises several interesting questions. The persistent nature of the tradition and the dramatic vividness of the details may tempt one to think that it has some

---

[1] *Harivaṁśa*, I, 14, 3f. (cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88, 127f.; *Śiva Purāṇa*, VI, 61, 29f.):
Bāhor = vyasaninas = tāta kṛtam rājyam = abhūt kila |
Haihayais = Tālajanghaiś = ca Śakaiḥ sārdhaṁ viśāmpate ||
Yavanāḥ Pāradāś = c = aiva Kāmbojāḥ Pahlavāḥ Khasāḥ |
ete hy = api gaṇāḥ pañca Haihay-ārthe parākraman ||

[2] *Harivaṁśa*, I, 14, 5ff.; cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88, 129ff.; *Śiva Purāṇa*, VI, 61, 31ff.

[3] *Harivaṁśa*, I, 14, 8ff.; cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88, 133ff.; *Śiva Purāṇa*, VI, 61, 34ff.

[4] *Harivaṁśa*, I, 14, 12ff. (cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88, 136ff.; *Śiva Purāṇa*, VI, 61, 38ff.):
tataḥ Śakān = sa-Yavanān = Kāmbojān = Pāradāṁs = tadā |
Pahlavāṁś = c = aiva niḥśeṣān = kartuṁ vyavasitas = tadā ||
te vadhyamānā vīreṇa Sagareṇa mahātmanā |
Vasiṣṭhaṁ śaraṇaṁ gatvā praṇipetur = manīṣiṇam || ***
Sagaraṁ vārayāmāsa teṣāṁ dattv = ābhayaṁ tadā ||

[5] *Harivaṁśa*, I, 14, 15ff. (cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88, 139ff.; *Śiva Purāṇa*, VI, 61, 40ff.):
Sagaraḥ svāṁ pratijñāṁ ca guror = vākyaṁ niśamya ca |
dharmaṁ jaghāna teṣāṁ vai veś-ānyatvaṁ cakāra ha ||
ardhaṁ Śakānāṁ śiraso muṇḍaṁ kṛtvā vyasarjayat |
Yavanānāṁ śiraḥ sarvaṁ Pahlavānāṁ tath = aiva ca ||
Pāradā mukta-keśāś = ca Pahlavāḥ śmaśrudhāriṇaḥ |
niḥ-svādhyāya-vaṣaṭkārāḥ kṛtās = tena mahātmanā ||

[6] *Harivaṁśa*, I, 14, 18ff. (cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88, 142-43):
Śakā Yavanāḥ Kāmbojāḥ Pāradāś = ca viśāmpate |
Kaulisarpāḥ sa-Mahiṣā Dārdyāś = Colāḥ sa-Keralāḥ ||
sarve te Kṣatriyās = tāta dharmas = teṣāṁ nirākṛtaḥ |
Vasiṣṭha-vacanād = rājan = Sagareṇa mahātmanā ||

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

historical basis. But it is not easy to accept Bāhu and Sagara as historical personages. Moreover, even if we believe in the historicity of the said Ikṣvāku kings and of their struggle with the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas, the attempt to bring in the Greeks and Scythians has to be regarded as a clear case of anachronism. Known facts of history indicate beyond doubt that the Greeks and Scythians had nothing to do with India in the hoary antiquity, to which mythology ascribes Bāhu and Sagara. The Puranic tradition regards Sagara as twenty-four generations in ascent from Daśaratha, father of Rāma of the *Rāmāyaṇa* fame.[1] It may be that the original tradition referred to the subjugation of the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas, as in the *Mahābhārata*, and that the story of their allies was later added to it. Among these allies, five foreign peoples are first spoken of and later the non-Aryan Khasas of India and still later some other similar non-Aryan tribes are added to the list.

There is a reason why the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas have been so intimate in the story with the foreign and non-Aryan peoples. According to a well-known tradition, king Yayāti of the lunar race cursed his four elder sons, viz. Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu and Anu, and gave his throne to his youngest son, Puru. As a result of the curse, the descendants of the four brothers came to be the Yādavas, Yavanas, Bhojas and Mlecchas respectively.[2] Of these, the Bhojas were often regarded as a branch of the Yādava people.[3] Originally the Yādavas must have been looked down upon apparently because of their non-Aryan associations. Later, however, the Yaduvaṁśa came to be regarded as aristocratic like the solar and lunar races. This was no doubt due to the Yādava hero, Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, who was deified and was soon identified with the Vedic god Viṣṇu.[4] The Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas were subclans of the Yādavas.

But there are a few other interesting aspects of the story, one of which is the ascription of the peculiarities of the Śakas and other peoples to their subjugation by Sagara. Indeed, the half-shaven head of the Śakas, the fully-shaven head of the Yavanas and Kāmbojas, the long hanging hair of the Pāradas and the long beard of the Pahlavas were the respective traits of the peoples. In Sanskrit literature, there are some other instances of the tribal or national characteristics of a people being ascribed to their discomfiture at the hands of an enemy.[5]

While describing the victories of the Kashmirian king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (*c.* A.D. 724–60), Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (IV, 178ff.), composed about A.D. 1150, says, 'This mighty [king] made the [conquered] rulers, in order to indicate their defeat, adopt various characteristic marks which they [and their people] wear humbly even at the present day. Clearly it is by his command, to display the mark of their bondage, that the Turuṣkas carry their arms at their back and shave half their head. In the *kaupīna* (waist-cloth) of the Dākṣiṇātyas, he made the tail sweeping the ground, to

---

[1] See, e.g., *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV, 4.

[2] *Mahābhārata*, I, 85, 34; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 34, 30:

Yados = tu Yādavā jātās = Turvasor = Yavanāḥ smṛtāḥ|
Druhyoḥ sutās = tu vai Bhojā Anos = tu Mlecchajātayaḥ||

[3] Cf. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 35, note 4.

[4] See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. Majumdar, pp. 432-33, 435.

[5] Another interesting literary motif in the story is the birth of a great hero in the abode of a Brāhmaṇa after his father's death. There is a similar story in the epigraphic records of the Eastern Cālukyas. King Vijayāditya died in a struggle with king Trilocana-pallava and his widowed queen gave birth to Viṣṇuvardhana, the progenitor of the Cālukya royal house, at the place of the ascetic Viṣṇubhaṭṭa-somayājin at the *agrahāra* of Mudivemu. See *The Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 230; *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 58.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

mark that they were like beasts.'[1] Here the Turuṣka habit of carrying arms behind the back and shaving half the head as well as the Dākṣiṇātya practice of tucking only one corner of the *dhotī*-end behind the back (unlike the North Indian habit of tucking the entire *dhotī*-end behind the back) has been attributed to the defeat of the peoples at the hands of the Kashmirian king.

Likewise, the Haraha inscription (A.D. 553-54) describes Maukhari Īśānavarman's success against the sea-faring Gauḍa people of West Bengal in the words: *kṛtvā c = āyati-mocita-sthāla-bhuvo Gauḍān = samudrāśrayān*, 'having conquered the Gauḍas and having compelled them, for all time to come, to flee from land and to take refuge in [the waters of] the sea'.[2] A national characteristic of the Gauḍas has been attributed here to their subjugation by the Maukhari king.

More important is, however, the bearing of the story on the position of the foreign settlers and the semi-Aryanized non-Aryans in the Brahmanical social system. Some of the practices of such peoples appeared peculiar to the followers of Brahmanism, and the leaders of the society, who were eager to assign to any people a place in the Indian social system characterized by the theoretical classification known as the *catur-varṇa*, owed an explanation to their followers, even though the position of a particular foreign or non-Aryan tribe in the social scheme depended on its importance, culture and activities.[3] We have seen how the Sagara story explains the peculiar habits of some such peoples. There are a few similar other fanciful explanations.

A peculiarity of the Yavanas is noticed in some versions of Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka (*c.* 272–232 B.C.) which suggests that the *catur-varṇa* classification of the society was prevalent in the Maurya empire excluding that part where the Yavanas dwelt.[4] This is explained by the Buddhist canonical work, *Majjhimanikāya*, which states that, in the lands of the Yavanas and Kāmbojas, there were only two (and not the usual four) social grades, viz. Ārya and Dāsa, i.e. the nobles and the serfs.[5] But, at a later date, Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* regards the Śakas and Yavanas as clean or pure Śūdra.[6] Practically the same social position is assigned to these peoples by the *Manusmṛti* at a still later date. It, however, speaks of them at one place as degraded Kṣatriya, though it is implied at another place that they were the descendants of the apostate Kṣatriya. Thus it (X, 42-43) says, 'By the omission of the prescribed duties and also by the neglect of the Brāhmaṇas, the following Kṣatriya *jātis* have gradually sunk to the position of the Vṛṣala (Śūdra or the low-born): the Puṇḍras (or Pauṇḍrakas), Coḍas (or Auḍras), Draviḍas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cīnas,

---

[1] Cf. *parājaya-vyañjan-ārthaṁ nānā-liṅgāni pārthivāḥ |*
ugreṇa grāhitas = teṇa vahanty = ady = āpi nirmadāḥ ||
bandha-mudr-ābhidhānāya paścād = bāhu tad-ājñayā |
Turuṣkā dadhate vyaktaṁ mūrdhāṭhaṁ = c = ārdha-muṇḍitam ||
kṣitibhṛd = Dākṣiṇātyānāṁ tiryaktva-jñāpanāya saḥ |
pucchaṁ mahītala-sparśi cakre kaupīna-vāsasi ||

[2] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 115ff. (verse 12); *J.A.S.*, Letters, Vol. XI, 1945, p. 69, note 4.

[3] Cf. *Homage to Vaiśālī*, ed. Mathur and Miśra, p. 74.

[4] Cf. *nathi cā se janapade yatā nathi ime nikāyā ānatā Yoneṣu Baṁhane cā Samane cā* (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 36, note 9).

[5] II, 149: *Yona-Kaṁbojesu dve va vaṇṇā Ayyo c = eva Dāso ca.*

[6] Patañjali quotes: *Śaka-Yavanam* as an illustration of Pāṇini's rule *Śūdrāṇām = aniravasitānām* (II, 4, 10).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kirātas, Daradas and Khasas.'[1] Elsewhere (X, 22), the Khasas and Draviḍas of the above list are placed in the list of the descendants of the *Vrātya* (apostate) Kṣatriya: 'From the *Vrātya* Kṣatriya are born the Jhalla, Malla, Nicchivi (Licchavi), Naṭa, Karaṇa, Khasa and Draviḍa.'[2] It will be seen that the tribal and national peculiarities of the foreigners and non-Aryans are explained by Manu as due to their omission of prescribed duties and neglect of the Brāhmaṇas and that this is different from the explanation offered by the Sagara story discussed above.

A point of considerable interest is the peculiar habits ascribed to certain peoples in the Sagara story and elsewhere. We have noted the reference to the Gauḍas as a sea-faring people and the style of wearing the *dhotī* preferred by the Dākṣiṇātyas, probably meaning the people of Karnāṭa. As regards the Turuṣkas or Turks carrying their arms behind the back, Stein observes, 'Yarkhandis and Tibetans are fond of walking with their hands folded at their back.'[3] Besides, we have been told that the Śakas and Turuṣkas shaved half their head, that the Yavanas and Kāmbojas shaved the whole of the head and that the Pāradas kept long hanging hair and the Pahlavas long beard. These fashions were apparently regarded as peculiar by Indians because the Indian males, excluding the ascetic class, generally shaved off their beard and, though they kept long hair, it was usually tied in a top, side or back knot.[4]

The long beard of the Pahlavas, who are generally identified with the Persians, reminds us of Kālidāsa's description of the bearded head of the Pārasīka (Persian) or Pāścātya people, which looked like a beehive.[5]

As regards the statement that the Yavanas and Kāmbojas shaved off the hair on their head, we have to note that the royal head on the coins of the Greek kings of Bactria and India exhibits short hair and neither shaven head nor long hair. This therefore may be the characteristic referred to in the Sagara story.

More difficult to understand is the reference to the Śakas and Turuṣkas as shaving half their head. The royal head on the coins of the Śakas of Western India exhibits a close-fitting cap on the head and the hair hanging behind the neck above the shoulders. Thus, if the hair on any part of their head was shaved or sheared, it may have been on the front, i.e. above the forehead.

The short version of the story as found in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (IX, 8, 5-6) says that, owing to his preceptor's request, Sagara did not annihilate the Tālajaṅghas, Yavanas, Śakas, Haihayas and Barbaras, but merely caused changes in their appearance so that some of them were made to shave their head, some to shave half the head and some to wear an undergarment (*antar-vāsas*) and some an upper-garment (*bahir-vāsas*). The

---

[1] Cf. *sanakais = tu kriyā-lopād = imāḥ Kṣatriya-jātayaḥ |*
Vṛṣalatvaṁ gatā loke Brāhmaṇ-ādarśanena ca ||
Pauṇḍrakāś = Coḍa-Draviḍāḥ Kāmbojā Yavanāḥ Śakāḥ |
Pāradāḥ Pahlavāś = Cīnāḥ Kirātā Daradāḥ Khasāḥ ||

[2] Cf. *Jhallo Mallaś = ca Rājanyād = Vrātyān = Nicchivir = eva ca |*
Naṭaś = ca Karaṇaś = c = aiva Khaso Draviḍa eva ca ||

[3] *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 138, note.

[4] For a few types of hair style, cf.
Kṣaṇena granthiḥ kṣaṇa-jūṭako me kṣaṇena bālāḥ kṣaṇa-kuntalā vā |
kṣaṇena muktāḥ kṣaṇa ūrdhva-cūḍā citro vicitro = haṁ rāja-śyālaḥ ||
(*Mṛcchakaṭika*, Act IX, verse 2).
See *J.I.S.O.A.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 90, 92; *J.A.O.S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 193, 307.

[5] Cf. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 325-26; *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 60, 62-63.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

last of these characteristics seems to refer to the covering of the upper part of the body in the *udīcya-veṣa* or the dress of the foreign settlers of the Uttarāpatha division.

The defective version of the *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa* (8, 36 and 39) speaks of the subjugation of the Śakas, Yavanas and other kings and wrongly attributes the shaven head to the Pārṣṇikas (probably meaning the Śakas) and hanging hair (*lamba-murdhaja*) to the Yavanas. It also states that some of the peoples were compelled to keep beard or shave the head or were excommunicated from the Vedic religion (*veda-bahiṣkṛta*).

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (IV, 3, 21) says how the Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas and Pahlavas were compelled respectively to shave the head, to shave half the head, to have hanging hair (*pralamba-keśa*) and to grow beard, how all of them had to give up Vedic studies and sacrificial performances (*niḥsvādhyāya-vaṣaṭkāra*) and how they became Mlecchas by giving up their prescribed duties and being shunned by the Brāhmaṇas.

In this connection, we may also refer to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I, 54-55), according to which the Pahlavas, Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Barbaras, Mlecchas, Hārītas (or Tuṣāras) and Kirātakas were created by Vasiṣṭha's cow when Viśvāmitra tried to carry her away forcibly. The Śakas are described as *Yavana-miśrita* (having some Yavanas in their company), *hema*° or *padma-kiñjalka-sannibha* (having gold-complexion or complexion like the filament of the lotus plant), *tīkṣṇ*° or *dīrgh-āsi-paṭṭiśa-dhara* (holding sharp or long sword and spear) and *hema-varṇ-ambar-āvṛta* (wearing a golden cloak) or *hema-varm-āyudh-avṛta* (bearing golden armour and weapons on the person).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Journal of the Asiatic Society.
Vol. IV, No. 2, 1962.

SANSKRIT LEXICOGRAPHY: SOME ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES

By Sukumari Bhattacharji

(1) *Śakaṭa*—wagon, cart: The *Amarakośa* commentary (by Śaktidhara Śāstrī) derives the word as *śaknoti bhāram voḍhum jīvayitum vā: śakādibhyo'ṭan* (Auṇādika rule, No. 521). The derivative meaning is rather far-fetched. Monier Williams in his lexicon says that the word is of unknown origin. It might have had some connection with the Śakas or Scythians.

We have an account of the Scythians in Herodotus: 'A people without fortified towns, living as the Scythians do, in wagons which they take with them wherever they go' (Penguin tr., p. 257). Again, 'in your (i.e. Scythian) country your women stay at home in their wagons'. Darius asks Idanthyrsus, 'Why on earth do you keep running away?' Idanthyrsus says, 'It is precisely the sort of life I always live even in times of peace' (*ibid.*).

We have here a people closely associated with carts, and it would only be natural that carts should be called after them. The word Śaka to which Pāṇini attaches the suffix *aṭan* might have reference to the Scythians, who were called Sacae in Latin, and Skuthoi or Skythoi in Greek, and who appeared in the Indian scene in the middle of the second century B.C.

Several other words in Sanskrit would also appear to indicate Scythian influence on Sanskrit vocabulary, e.g. *Śakāra*, 'the king's brother-in-law' (through one of his inferior wives), *Śākārī-bhāṣa*, a particular kind of Prakrit which uses the palatal sibilant exclusively, *Śākāri-lipi*, a kind of writing mentioned in *Lalitavistara*. The compound *Śākapārthiva* to which Pāṇini gives the derivative meaning 'a vegetarian king' may have had originally something to do with the nomadic Scythian kings' food-habits, or may simply have meant a Scythian ruler. The *Śākya* line in which the Buddha was born also had Śaka connections as the derivation indicates: *Śakā abhijano'sya*. The word *Śakaṭa* itself was used as a personal name, as we find in *Mudrārākṣasa* or in the Kṛṣṇa legends where Kṛṣṇa kills a demon of that name. *Śākaṭīna*, a derivative from Śaka, means a cart-load, or a measure roughly equivalent to 20 tolas.

Words like *kanthā*, 'a wall or a rampart', also 'a coverlet', are derived from *kand*, a word of Śaka affinity, and *kṛta* (as in Javanese place-names like Jogjakarta), possibly a Śaka word, from old Iranian *Kərətā*—also indicate possible Scythian influence on the vocabulary of Sanskrit.

In Hindi and Bengali we have a word *chag(a)ḍā*, meaning 'some kind of cart, a ramshackle horse-carriage in Bengal, a light cart drawn by bullocks in Western Madhya Pradesh'. It is probably a later form of *śakaṭa* and retains the original meaning. The Scythian word, *Vanasphara*, name of a Scythian king, passes through the following stages: *Vanasphara* > *Vanapphara* > *Banāphar*; and the final form is still retained as the name of a Rajput clan in Bihar—the Banāphar Rajputs.

The Scythians remained in India for a considerable period as a ruling people, minted coins (they were themselves mentioned in Darius' inscriptions) and left a lasting impression on Indian culture, history and religion

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in various ways; although evidently the principal association was their cart-dwelling character.

Indian Gypsies settled in Europe are still in the habit of living in wagons ('caravans' as they are called in England). They probably carried the tradition from North-Western India where Scythian influence was strong.

(2) *Śemuṣī:* The *Amarakośa* commentary on the word *śemuṣī* (meaning *buddhi*, intelligence or understanding) is *śete śermohastam muṣnāt īti śemuṣī*. The *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivaṃśa*, the *Matsya°*, *Viṣṇu°*, and other *Purāṇas*, on the other hand, give us an episode of *Vivasvat* (the Sun-god) marrying *Saṃjñā* (consciousness), the daughter of Tvastṛ. *Śemuṣī* and *Saṃjñā* are almost synonymous, as far as their meanings are concerned. Now in Babylonia the Sun-god was called *Shamash* or *Shemsha*. The word *Shemsha* would easily yield a feminine form *Śemuṣī*, and Puranic mythology would fill it out with the concept of 'Intelligence', because, according to this mythological story, the Sun married *Saṃjñā*; so the new word, feminine from *Shemsha*, would mean intelligence or consciousness.

(3) A few other likely borrowings from Semitic: Besides *Śemuṣī*, we have among the names of the seven Kṛttikās or the constellation of the Pleiades (as given in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*) a word *dula* which evidently comes from a Semitic source (compare Hebrew *dili*, meaning 'a pot for pouring water', also Arab *dala* 'to pour'). It is also to be noted that the Kṛttikās have come to mean 'water-pourers'. *Kenipa* is the name of a *ṛṣi* in RV x.44.4. *Kenipāta* means 'a rudder' or 'a helm'. The word *kenipata* has a variant form, *kelipata*, meaning 'an oar', which is also preserved in new Indo-Aryan: cf. Hindi *kerwal*, Middle Bengali *keroal*, *ker'al*. The words are apparently associated with Hebrew *Kanpa* which means 'a steersman'. *Māna* means 'measure' both in Hebrew (*manāh*) and Sanskrit.[1]

All this goes to show that some elements of Babylonian life, institutions and thought had percolated into India through channels of trade, as Sir Mortimer Wheeler shows clearly in his latest book on the subject, *Early India and Pakistan* (Bombay, 1959). This trade connection was kept up from the Sargonid dynasty of Akkad (*c.* 2350 B.C.) through the third dynasty of Ur (*c.* 2100 B.C.) until its decline under the Larsa dynasty. It is no wonder therefore that from the Indus civilization down to the Vedic and still later phases, India should present words which were either taken over from or influenced by Babylonian vocables.

---

[1] *Arische Urzeit:* by Dr. Gottlieb Hermann Brunnhofer, Berne (Verlag von A. Francke, 1910).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Journal of the Asiatic Society.
Vol. IV, No. 2, 1962.

HŪṆAS IN MEWAR

By Adris Banerji

While visiting Pathar, Uparmal and the elevated granite valley of Hāḍāvatī the question of the survival of Hūṇas, in the hill tracts of Mewar, attracted my notice. Hūṇas, a people of mixed mongoloid origin, earned the credit of striking death-blows at three great empires of the ancient world—the Roman empire in the West, Sassanian empire in the Middle East and Gupta empire in India, all due to quarrels over grazing grounds in the steppe countries. The Cimmerians and the Scythians were their forerunners. They have a long history in Central Asia, which is not very well known.[1] We know that, after centuries of rule by the Bactrian Greeks (*Yavaṇas*), Parthians (*Pahlavas*), *Śakas* (Scythians) and lastly by Kushāṇas, the Guptas of Magadha established an empire over portions of India, and ushered in an age of renaissance, reorganization and integration.

In India, there are evidences to believe that coming through Khyber Pass, the Hūṇas devastated Kabul valley, Swat, Buner, N.W.F. Province and the Punjab and penetrated up to Malwa and Central India. Some, however, believe that they reached up to Kauśāmbī. Sir John Marshall while describing the exhumation of the lintel containing *Kshāntivādin Jātaka* of Sarnath Museum felt that charred remains in which it was found was possibly due to Hūṇa invasion. Professor G. R. Sharma, who has dedicated himself to revealing the past glories of Kauśāmbī, has found a seal there bearing the name of Toramāṇa. This seal by itself is no evidence of Hūṇa occupation of ancient Vatsa country. For Malwa, we have the Eran inscription of the time of Toramāṇa. Like the empire of Harsha, the Hūṇa empire was short-lived. Yaśodharman was able to inflict a crushing defeat on the Hūṇas. In his Mandasor inscription, he claims to have ruled over territories, which were enjoyed neither by the Guptas, nor by the Hūṇas, and to whose feet obeisance was made even by the famous Hūṇa King Mihirakula.[2] It has been assumed that after this they retreated to Kashmir and continued to rule in contiguous districts. But the possibility that they might have survived in Rajasthan has never been mooted, notwithstanding the fact that evidence in support of this theory exists. While the main body of the Hūṇas retreated through Cis-Sutlej states,[3] a remnant possibly found a safe refuge in Haraoti and the hill tracts of Mewar. The few mountain passes, through the Aravallis, the Chambal ravines and the series of hill ranges from Chitorgarh area to Bhilwara, did not seem to have escaped the notice of these hardy barbarians. No one who has visited Badoli, with its three ranges of hills, or travelled either from Kota or Bhilwara to Bijholya, can imagine the security of these places before the days of fire-arms, cars and aeroplanes.

If the pebble-chopper industry of the Sohan valley of West Punjab, the so-called Black and Red ware of megalithic culture of South India, Saurāshtra and Gujerat could successfully migrate to Mewar, if the Paramāras, the Gurjara Pratihāras could garrison Chitor, why could not bodies of defeated aliens find shelter in the gorges and tableland of Aravallis, to

---

[1] E. Ghirshman: *Les Chionites-Hepthalites*, 1948.
[2] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, No. 33.
[3] In the time of Ranjit Singh, Sikhs of this area were called Malwai Sikhs.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

survive and multiply, and finally to become Indianized? Later Rajput tradition includes the Hūṇas as one of the 36 Rajput clans. The Uparmal, or the highest tableland called Pathar, is even now a secure place, extending up to Jahazpur in the south and in the north up to Menal, Bijholya and Mandalgarh, rich in the relics of the past dynasties. In fact, every nook and corner of this prehistoric area[1] requires to be intensely explored, in order to reveal its ancient lore, which is likely to fill up many gaps not merely in the prehistoric and protohistoric periods; but also that of the 'Dark Age' between the downfall of the Guptas and advent of the Chāhamānas. The evidences of the Hūṇa survival in Mewar are fourfold: traditional, literary, epigraphic and numismatic.

Evidence of Tradition

In the nineteenth century, when modern methods of historical research had not enlightened the despots of Rajasthan, there was a belief, widespread amongst the masses, that the Hūṇa kings were the paramount sovereigns from Kota to Chitorgarh. Feudal strongholds like Kota (anc. Koṭṭāhaka), Bundi, Bijohlyā, Menal, Bhainsrorgarh and Badoli were founded by the Hūṇas. These comprise the most inaccessible portions of Bhilwara and Chitorgarh districts, including the high tableland of Hāḍāvatī, constituting the present Bundi and Kota districts. It is quite possible that the heights of Chitorgarh might have been defended by the Hinduized descendants of Toramāṇa, Mihiragula and Kiṅkhila (?).[2] Kota is only 36 miles from Bhainsrorgarh, to reach which three separate but picturesque ridges with valleys have to be crossed. Bundi is now 20 miles from Kota and Bijholya which is 77 miles from district headquarters of Bhilwara, is only 32 miles from Kota. Orthodoxy, clan rivalries, dynastic interests, as well as the fear that acceptance of the Hūṇa question may stamp the alleged *Agnikulas* as not of pure Aryan (?) stock, have led the word Hūṇa being pronounced as *Auna*. Even our archaeological Chowkidar at Badoli, when questioned regarding the tradition in respect of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the Ghāṭeśvara temple, popularly called *Śṛiṅgāra chaurī*, pronounced it as *Auna*, recalling to my mind the report of A. C. L. Carllyle. But with the dawn of a new age an unbiased and unprejudiced assessment of the demographic contents of Mewar has become imperative when, in the twentieth century, the collapse of colonial type of imperialism brought to an end the Faustian generations. But tradition, by itself, is valueless, unless and until it is supported by other reliable evidence which, however, is available in the case of the Hūṇas in Mewar.

Literary Evidence

The earliest reference to the Hūṇas in India, after their Waterloo at the hands of Yaśodharman, is to be met with in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harshacharita*. Prabhākaravardhana is referred to as *Hūṇa-hariṇa-Keśarī*. But the whole sentence, I feel, is poetical euphemism. Describing Rājyavardhana's expedition against the Hūṇas, the author states: *Atha kadāchid Rājyavardhanaṁ ..... Hūṇānhantuṁ ..... aparimitam valānuyātaṁ chirantanair amātyair anuruktai-ścha mahāsāmantaiḥ ..... Uttarāpatham prāhinot.*[3] This, however, has no relevancy on our topic, since a journey to north from

[1] Tools of Series I (Early Palaeolithic) have been found near Menal.
[2] According to Somadeva, the Hūṇas had reached as far as *Chitrakūṭa*, modern Chitorgarh. *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 216.
[3] A. Fuhrer: *Harsha Charita* (Bombay Sanskrit Series), Vol. LXVI, p. 211.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Śrīkaṇṭha could not have brought Prince Rājyavardhana to Rajasthan. The next is Padmagupta's *Navasāhasāṅkaçharita*. According to it Sīyaka II (*c.* A.D. 949) carried on a war with Hūṇas (*Sarga* XI, verse 90), and having slaughtered Hūṇa princes turned their seraglios (*antaḥpura*) into refuge homes of widows. Sindhurāja also fought the Hūṇas (*Sarga* X, verse 14). Bālachandra Sūrī in his *Vasantavilāsa* mentions that Vāghela Lavaṇaprasāda fought with the Hūṇas. Some of the countries, such as Rādhā, Kerala, Kāñchī, Andhra, mentioned as other states conquered by the Vāghela chief, seem to have no historical basis. According to Hemachandra Sūrī, a Hūṇa King attended the *svayaṁvara-sabhā* of the sister of Mahendra, King of Nadol. I agree, however, with Dr. A. K. Majumdar that it is fictitious.[1] These are few instances chosen by me to illustrate my point.

Numismatic Evidence

An analysis of coin types of the early Hūṇa Kings demonstrates that they continued the coin types of two eastern empires they clashed with. The Sassanian empire and their satraps in Afghanistan and the Punjab[2] and the Gupta empire. The Kushāṇo-Sassanian type of 'bust of helmeted king' on the obverse and the fire altar with debased Greek legend on the reverse was the most popular type occurring on numerous coins.[3] Late E. Herzfeld has discussed them admirably including the palaeography of the Greek script in his *Kushāno-Sassanian Coins*, published as *Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 38. Later on, early mediaeval Nāgarī replaced the debased Greek alphabet, now quite meaningless, and the head of the King is found with the altar.[4] The Hūṇa coins found in Marwar were imitations of coins of Firoz who was killed in battle with the Hūṇas in *c.* A.D. 488.[5] The older school of numismatists like A. F. R. Hoernle, E. J. Rapson, V. A. Smith were of opinion that they were issues of Toramāṇa.[6] This type was continued in the succeeding centuries by the rulers of Gujerat, Rajasthan and Doab.[7] They are known as *Gadhiya* coins. How can a coin type be copied in states, which had no political or cultural contact with a dynasty, which introduced them in India? The circulation of Roman coins and their imitation by some minor dynasties are totally different from the circumstances that led to the issue of *Gadhiya* coins. They were due to extensive Indo-Roman commerce both by sea and land. The best proof of this is furnished by a find of Roman pottery at Arikamedu. By no stretch of imagination can we place the Hūṇas on the same level with the Romans. The so-called Vigrahapāla *drammas* were continuation of Gurjara-Pratihāra issues which were imitations of Hūṇa coins.

The coins of Toramāṇa, found in Malwa, however, have a totally different type. These are small, resembling hemidrachms, and bear a king's head on the obverse and a peacock with expanded tail on the reverse. The king's face is turned exactly in the opposite direction to that occurring on the Gupta coins. In front of the face are numerals such as 52.[8] The small copper coins, attributed to Toramāṇa, have been found in West Pakistan,

---

1 *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, verses 79–142, quoted by A. K. Majumdar—*Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 41, 1956.
2 Sidelights on Later Kushaṇas—*I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIII, p. 894.
3 *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1894, pp. 276-77.
4 E. J. Rapson: *Indian Coins*, p. 29.
5 *Cat. of Coins in Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 233.
6 *P.A.S.B.*, 1889, p. 228; *Ind. Coins*, p. 29; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
7 *Ind. Coins*, p. 29.
8 Cunningham: *Coins of Mediaeval India*, 1893, p. 85.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

East Punjab, Malwa, etc. They bear on the obverse the head of Sassanian monarch with the word *Bra* in Gupta characters; and on the reverse solar symbol (spoked wheel surrounded by dots) below which is the legend *Tora*.[1] The coin types of his son and successor, Mihiragula, are numerous. The silver coins, which are imitations of the Sassanian coins, bear on the obverse the king's head and on the reverse the legend *Jayatu Mihiragula* or *Mihirakula* in Indian characters. To the left, occurs a standard, with fillet hanging down, surmounted by a couchant bull facing right. The reverse has a caricature of fire altar flanked by attendants.[2] The copper coins of Mihirakula, found in Rajputana and East Punjab, have the king's head with the name of the king in Indian characters and on the reverse the humped bull with the legend *Jayatu Vṛisha*.[3] The middle-sized copper coins are copies of previous Kushāṇa issues, with standing king holding a spear and pouring oblations in fire altar, while the reverse depicts goddess, seated on a throne,[4] holding cornucopias. The large copper coins show the king riding on a horse with the legend *Mihirakula* in Indian characters; and on the reverse occurs the goddess Lakshmī—evidently an imitation of Gupta horse rider type. Some coins of Toramāṇa were restruck by Mihirakula.

One hundred and seventy-five silver coins, said to have been discovered in Marwar, were brought to our notice by A. F. R. Hoernle. These coins bore a striking resemblance to the genuine coins of Firoz (A.D. 459–86). The only remarkable absentee is the Pahlavi legend. Hoernle was of opinion that the coins were issued by the Hūṇas.

Epigraphic Evidence

The Hūṇa occupation of Malwa is proved by two inscriptions: an inscribed boar image found at Eran in Sagar district, dedicated in the first regnal year of Toramāna,[5] and a second inscription found by Cunningham fixed on the walls of Surajkund, at Gwalior. The latter records the erection of a Sun temple, by Mātṛiceṭa, in the fifteenth regnal year of Mihirakula.[6] After that, for long centuries, we have no information. Suddenly, in the ninth century of the Christian era, we meet with the Hūṇas in description of the *digvijaya* of the Pāla Kings of Eastern India. Thus the Badal Pillar inscription of Guravamiśra clearly tells us that Devapāla ruled for a long period the earth girt by the sea, having defeated the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hūṇas and scattered the conceit of the rulers of Draviḍa and Gurjara.[7] In many of the Pāla grants the Hūṇas are mentioned as one of the principal races of the empire, along with the *Khasas*.[8] The Khairha plate of Yaśaḥkarṇa, dated K.E. 823, states that Karṇa, the Chedi Emperor, married a Hūṇa princess, named Āvalladevī, by whom he had a son, named Yaśaḥkarṇa (*Hūṇā-nvaya-jala-nidhi-lakshyām*).[9] The Bheraghat[10] inscription of Narasiṁha credits Karṇa for having held in check Kīra, Hūṇa and other princes. Where did he meet the Hūṇas, who waited upon him? V. V. Mirashi was also faced with the same problem. 'Hūṇa princes are known

---

[1] *Num. Chron.* (III series), 1894, p. 85.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 88.
[3] *Cat. of Coins in Ind. Mus.*, Vol. I, p. 236, Nos. 1-9.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 237, No. 10.
[5] Fleet: *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 239-40.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 159-60.
[7] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 160ff.
[8] *Journal of the R.A.S.B.*, Letters, Vol. VI, pp. 1ff.
[9] *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 290ff.
[10] *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. cii.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

from records of several kings. They appear to have been ruling somewhere in Central India; for there are occasional references to defeats inflicted on them by Pratihāra, Paramāra, Pāla and Kalachuri Kings or their feudatories. But the exact location of their kingdom has not yet been fixed.'

The Una copperplate tells us that Balavarman, the Chālukya, and father of Avanīvarman II, surnamed *Yoga*, by killing Jajjapa and other kings of the Hūṇa race, cleansed the earth. Jajjapa therefore belonged to the ninth century A.D. Unless the Hūṇas were somewhere between Malwa and Saurāshṭra, Chālukya-Balavarman II could not have fought with them.[1] According to the Kherda plates, Amoghavarsha (*c.* A.D. 972) fought the lords of the Hūṇas.[2] The Paramāra Utpala took away the life of the Hūṇas.[3] In the Udayapur inscription Sindhurāja, the Paramāra King, is credited with having defeated the king of the Hūṇas.[4] It is quite clear, therefore, that Hūṇas went on fighting bitter struggles for their very existence, against Rāshṭrakuṭas, Chālukyas, Pratihāras, Paramāras and Kalachuris. Therefore their territories must have been somewhere near Gujerat, Saurāshṭra and Malwa. More direct evidence is available from two records of the Guhilas of Meḍapāṭa.

The first is the Sārṇeśvara-Varāha (Ahar) temple inscription, dated in 1010 V.S. (= A.D. 953-54). It was originally in a temple at Ahar, but now kept in the temple mentioned above. It records the erection of a temple, dedicated to the *Varāha* incarnation of Vishṇu, during the reign of Guhila King Allaṭa of Mewar. In verse 8 occurs the term 'Hūṇa' whose meaning, with reference to the context, is not clear due to damage.[5] But the second, the Aitpur inscription, dated in 1034 V.S. (= A.D. 977-78),[6] commemorating the dedication of a temple to god Nānigasvāmī (verse 5), states that Allaṭa had a queen named Hariyādevī, who was a Hūṇa princess (*Hūṇa-Kshaunīśa-vaṁsajā*) whose fame shone in Harshapura.

Here, therefore, we have a 'full confession' of the existence of a Hūṇa princely family, somewhere in Rajasthan, one of whose princesses married a Hindu prince of the Guhila family, belonging to *Agnikula*. Therefore, by the second half of the tenth century A.D., they were completely Hinduized. Indeed, the *Guhilaputras*, notwithstanding everything, were not pure Aryan *Kshatriyas*, but, by passing that moot point, we may proceed to evaluate the meagre evidence available. Karṇa's campaigns were somewhat different from other similar expeditions. He had undoubtedly reached Malwa, which according to K. M. Munshi, extended from Kota to the Narmadā, from the mouth of the Māhī to Bhilsa.[7] From Malwa, Chitorgarh valley with Gambhira and Berach rivers and Bhilwara district were only few days' march, either from Marwar via Bari Sadri and Mavli or via Nagari. Prehistoric tools of series I, II and III, the Black and Red, Black on Red, Black on Cream wares found in Mewar have affinities with those of Central India. Once he (Karṇa) reached the Uparmal or plateau of Kota via Ratlam and Jhalawar he dominated the hill tracts of Mewar.

Chitorgarh district has been repeatedly referred to, because it was not in possession of the early kings of Mewar. The early Guhilots ruled from Ahar (ancient Āghāṭapura or Atpur). When this city, now overbuilt with the *chatris*, temples and tourist bungalow, was devastated by Paramāra

---

1 *E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 3, verse 17.
2 *I.A.*, Vol. XII, p. 265, line 32.
3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 23, line 41.
4 *E.I.*, Vol. I, p. 235.
5 *I.A.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 161.
6 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 186ff.
7 *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, Part III, p. 145.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Muñja, they shifted to Nāgdā or Nāgahrada. Chitor became capital after Nāgdā had been sacked by Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish. The next important point to bear in mind is that by the time of Karṇa they had become Hinduized, due to which, Āvalladevī, a Hūṇa princess, married Karṇa. This is quite consistent with our knowledge of Chedī diplomatic policy. During his eastern campaigns, Karṇa claims to have defeated Vigrahapāla III and Jātavarman of East Bengal. They also claim victories over him. But two of his daughters, Yauvana-Śrī and Vīra-Śrī, were married to them. We know that Karṇa failed to annex permanently any of the territories he claimed to have conquered. His conquests were in nature of raids like that of Yaśovarman of Kanauj. So it is possible that when he reached southern Rajasthan and defeated a Hūṇa king, Karṇa married his daughter, Āvalladevī, mother of Yaśaḥkarṇa.

There is another important point. Whatever might have been their extent, there was more than one Hūṇa kingdom. Thus several Hūṇa princes are referred to in *Navasāhasāṅka-Charita* (*sarga* XI, verse 90) in connection with Sīyaka II. The Kauthem grant refers to them in plural.[1] So it is quite possible that large or tiny Hūṇa states existed at least from *c.* ninth century onwards in the present districts of Bhilwara, Chitorgarh, Bundi, Kota and Jhalawar. The evidence of Śārṇeśvara and Aitpur inscriptions clearly testify to the existence of a powerful Hūṇa kingdom, whose princess married a descendant of Guhila and Bappa. Even the name Hariyādevī is a sanskritized name. The dominions of Allaṭa were not so extensive as to enable him to reach the Punjab or Kashmir. This fact, combined with the evidence furnished by the Jaina author, Somadeva, shows that her paternal state must have been in South-Eastern Rajasthan.

It is true that Kadamba Kākusthavarman married his daughters to the Gupta and Vākāṭaka kings, though their dominions were at great distance from each other. But the political position of Kākusthavarman was totally different from that of Allaṭa, who was a minor prince of Rajasthan. While, therefore, the possibility of matrimonial relation between distant monarchies is undeniable, equally irrefutable is the theory of marriage alliances between neighbouring states, such as Rudradaman's daughter and a Sātavāhana-prince, Grahavarman and Rājyaśrī.

---

[1] *I.A.*, Vol. XVI, p. 23, lines 41-42.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
Journal of the Asiatic Society.
Vol. IV, No. 2, 1962.

SOME POST-MUSLIM TEMPLES OF BIHAR

By Adris Banerji

Islam gained a foothold in India in the eighth century A.D., when Muḥammad ibn al Kāsim conquered Sindhu and Sauvira countries (Sindh and Baluchistan). Next stage was reached in *c.* A.D. 998, when Turki Mahmud occupied Ghazna (*Sk.* Gharjjanā); and in *c.* A.D. 1000, led the first of his celebrated raids. The climax was reached in *c.* A.D. 1193. The end of the twelfth century A.D. was indeed a most tragic age for India, when Turkish converts to Islam crashed the gates and entered the middle country; and Islam once for all found a permanent place in the heart of India.

From this date, artistic activities in India had two clear-cut divisions. The reasons were political. There is a mass of evidence to show that the Turco-Afghans were compelled to utilize the services of Indian technicians in the erection of their buildings. The evidence is furnished by Quwwat-ul-Islam, the Minar,[1] the Alai Darwaza and the screen put up by Alauddin Khalji, *Dhāi dinkā jhoṁprā* at Ajmere; Jami, Lal Darwaza and Aṭalādevī masjids at Jaunpur; Ganj-i-sahidān masjid near Kashi station;[2] Dhāi-Kāngurā[3] mosque near it, the Ukhā masjid in Bayana, etc. In Delhi monuments, a gradual evolution of a pure Islamic type is noticeable, in the course of the centuries. In areas still under Indian occupation, in remote corners of Muslim-occupied territories, like Umgā Deo, Fatehpur, Cheon, eight miles north-east of Umgā, and Sanchail, four miles north-west of Umgā, all in the Aurangabad subdivision of Gaya district, are monuments erected after A.D. 1193. Kharagpur, in Munghyr district of Bihar, has twin temples known as Rājā and Rāṇī, demonstrating that the ancient arts and culture survived and were practised.

Umgā or Muṅgā is, in reality, the name of a single range of hill, near Madanpur, about 16 miles from Sherghati, in Gaya district. The *pièce de résistance* here is a *Rekha* temple, on a knoll, on the western slope of the hill (Fig. 1). There are, however, other extensive antiquarian remains on the hill itself, containing ruined fanes, shrines, images, pavilions, which I saw with my friend Sri P. C. Singh, then Magistrate of Gaya. These have neither been adequately described nor surveyed. Markham, Kittoe and J. D. Beglar have noticed the temple and the tank below.[4] This temple can be objectively dated by the chlorite stone inscription of Bhairavendra, a king belonging to a lunar dynasty, dated in V.S. 1500 (= *c.* A.D. 1443-44).[5] Umgā is supposed to be the site of his capital. It is quite possible that secure in the fastness of the former hill tracts of Gaya, covered with jungle and bordering on Palamau and Hazaribag districts, this chief ruled autonomously. The temple consists of a *saṁvṛtta* as well as *guḍha* (attached but closed) *maṇḍapa*[6] (27′ × 25½′), *garbhagṛha*

---

[1] Called *Kīrttistambha* of *Mākika dina* in an inscription.
[2] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXV (1866), Pt. I, pp. 64ff. and pl. vii(*a*).
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1847, Pt. II, pp. 636ff. and 221ff.; Cunningham: *A.S.R.*, Vol. VIII, p. 63; Vol. IX, p. 140.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 1906, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 23ff.
[6] D. N. Shukla: *Vastu Śāstra*, Vol. I, p. 464.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and a *gaṇḍi* of the *Rekha* type, about 60′ in height, all facing east. On the north and south sides are *alinḍas* (balconies).[1] Inside the sanctum are the images of Jagannātha, Subhadrā and Balarāma. The *terminus ad quem* is easily fixed by the defaced Arabic inscription carved on them. It is probably to be credited either to Sher Shāh (*c.* A.D. 1540–45), who constructed the Grand Trunk Road up to Banaras, or to Dāud Khān Qureshi, who conquered Palamau from Chero-Rajas (A.D. 1559–64) and founded the neighbouring town of Daudnagar.[2]

This agrees with the history of the family of the Deo Rājās, whose first member was adopted by the widow of Bhairavendra, or of one of his successors, who soon made himself master of the area. He was followed by two members of his family, after which the fort was given up and the family removed itself to 'Deo', a village, more inaccessible from Grand Trunk Road. Therefore allowing 30 years for each reign we arrive at the commencement of the sixteenth century. The local tradition that the adopting queen was a consort of Bhairavendra has no basis; because the Deo *annals* do not mention him and the *Umgā-māhātmya* composed by a *Śakadvīpi* Brahmin is only a few years old, written years after Parameswari Dayal edited the inscription.[3] The temple at Deo consisting of a *saṁvṛtta-maṇḍapa*, an *antarāla* and a *garbhagṛha* is built of earlier materials and is dedicated to the Sun. The images belong to *c.* sixteenth century A.D. Fragments of reliefs of the 'Eastern School' may be seen in the white-washed compound wall. The technique is not *monolithic* but the temple was made of stone masonry kept in position by metal clamps.[4]

We have now to transfer our attention to eastern Bihar. Three and a half miles from Kharagpur, a big village in the headquarters subdivision of Munghyr district, on the road to Tārāpur, there are two temples built of brick. They are of hut-shaped style of Bengal. These also belong to post-Muslim period, probably *c.* fifteenth to sixteenth century A.D. Kharagpur, now a desolate straggling village, was in an area included in the Mudgagiri *vishaya*, on the borders of Kajaṅgala country, with its capital of the same name (modern Kankjol). It is possible that, while the land on the other side of the Kharagpur hills and Jamui subdivision formed a part of ancient Aṅga country, these hill tracts including those of Gidhaur and Chakia were probably known as Kajaṅgala, mentioned in the *Rāmacharitaṁ* of Sandhyākaranandīn.

The land is the epitome of its history. Palaeolithic and Neolithic artefacts have been found all over Santal Parganas and Munghyr.[5] In historical times, foundations of Magadhan imperialism led to the annexation of Aṅga. Red sandstone image of Buddha, a sure indication of Kushaṇa occupation, has been found as far as Kiul-Birdavan. Imperial Gupta rule extended over this area. There are reasons to believe that Śaśāṅka, King of Karṇasuvarṇa, having been defeated by the armies of Harsha and Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarupa, probably found a safe refuge here. Yuan-Chawang clearly testifies that he died a natural death. When the Maukharis were ruling over southern Bihar, according to Kharagpur *annals*,

---

[1] P. K. Acharya: *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, p. 54.

[2] The historical evidence is too complicated to be discussed here. Cf., however, K. R. Qanungo: *Sher Shah*.

[3] *J. and P., A.S.B.* (NS), Vol. II (1906), pp. 23ff.

[4] It is a pity that in an authoritative work like *Bihar Through the Ages* these important temples at Umgā and Deo have not been mentioned.

[5] H. C. Das Gupta: Bibliography of Prehistoric Indian Antiquities—*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (NS), Vol. XXVII, No. 1. *Man in India*, Vol. 40 (1960), pp. 68ff.; and *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1960-61, p. 5.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a small kingdom ruled over by a prince existed here. He was *primus inter pares* of 52 confederate chiefs of these hill tracts. His name is given as Śaśāṅka.

There is another hill fort on a hill known as Kheri, near Akbarpur, in Bhagalpur district, which is also associated with Śaśaṅka. The earliest mention of Kheri was by Dr. Francis Buchanan, that indefatigable physician who arrived at Kharagpur from Kheri.[1] *Annals* further assert that the last king of Śaśāṅka's dynasty had three Rajput brothers in his service, who successfully carried out a *coup d'état* and established a new dynasty. Their descendants continued till the reign of Jahangir. They were very powerful rulers, if their annalist or annalists can be believed. They extended their sway up to Midnapur district of West Bengal; and the present Kharagpur in that state seems to have been named after their capital city. Jahangir's contemporary was Saṅgrāma Sāh, whose son, Todar Malla, was forcibly converted to Islam and was named Roz Afzun and married to a lady of the imperial harem. Since Jahangir reigned from *c.* A.D. 1605–27, and there were no Hindu members of the family left, the two brick temples could not have been built after A.D. 1620.

According to folk tradition, the two temples (Fig. 2) were erected by a Raja of Kharagpur and his consort near a hunting lodge. As stated by Buchanan[2] 151 years ago, there are no cult images in these temples. Simple in plan, each of these contains a *saṁvṛtta-guḍha-maṇḍapa* and a *garbhagṛha*. One of them has a ceiling decorated with lotuses drawn on stucco (Fig. 3). Erected with plain well-burnt bricks of a special size, they lack the elegance of their Bengal prototypes. In Orissa, this type was called 'Gauḍiya'.[3] That they were autochthonous in Bengal and were seldom followed anywhere except in Bihar and Orissa is undoubted. Percy Brown was correct when he stated: 'Constructed sometimes of laterite, but generally of brick, and so actually moulded out of very composition of the earth from which these agriculturists wrested their living, it speaks of the soil itself, and few things can be more fundamentally influential than the nature of one's native soil. Obviously originating from a somewhat primitive and cabin-like structure, it gradually evolved into a system from the wooden houses and bamboo-thatched huts of the ancestral forest dwellers.'[4]

Percy Brown thinks that it was not folk architecture but superior to it. It was folk architecture which had risen to superior level, if not to classical heights, in the mediaeval phase. Geography, climate and vertical section of the country imposed certain conditions for the evolution of this form. The heavy rainfall, alluded to in the inscriptions of Rajendra-Chola (*c.* A.D. 1000) as Bengal 'where rain and storm never stops', abundance of forests and bamboo groves, and lack of stone were the primary conditions and to throw off the heavy volume of water, convex roofs and sloping eaves of the thatched hut supplied the most suitable forms. Inability of the common man to secure stone-cutters and stone from Birbhum (*Uttara Rāḍhā*), Santal Parganas (*Kagaṅgala*), etc., prevented the use of that material. The upper middle class in East Bengal (*Harikela* or *Vaṅga*)[5]

---

[1] *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XV, Pts. III and IV, containing Journal of Francis Buchanan—Bhagalpur, 1810-11, pp. 467–74. Kheri was also visited by J. D. Beglar in 1872-73. *A.S.R.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 128ff.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 473.

[3] N. K. Bose: *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, p. 78.

[4] Percy Brown: *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu), p. 180.

[5] Cf. Hemacandra: *Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi* where *Harikela* has been defined as synonymous with *Vaṅga*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and West Bengal (*Uttara* and *Dakshiṇa Rāḍhā*) generally used to live in commodious well-built houses, sometimes single storeyed or double storeyed, with thatched roofs. The temples of their family divinities were of this type of huts. Therefore, comparatively wealthier classes built temples of bricks and transferred 'the shape and form of the old structures' erected with the new material. The breaking up of the façade by pillars surmounted by arches were to prevent the blast of the rain entering the vestibule and their thickness was due to utilization of trunks of full-grown cocoa-palm trees as beams.

There is, however, a difference between the thatched or tiled hut roofs of Bengal and their parallels in Bihar. The Bengal huts were somewhat curvilinear, while the Bihari huts were conical without sloping eaves with two ridges on two corners. At the top, they made an acute angle, while in early days, they had a tangential fall. The Rājā and Rāṇī temples in Munghyr district had both these features. The roof of the *maṇḍapa* is of Bengal type, while that of *garbhagṛha* is of Bihar type. The mosques of the Turco-Afghan period at Bhagalpur in Bihar and in Saran were of this Bengal type. Later on, the Bihar type of huts gradually displaced the Bengal type.

Situated in the no-man's-land between Bankura and Chotā Nagpur, in old days, forming a part of Uttara Rāḍhā country, was the district of Manbhum, dotted with hills and boulders and having an undulating landscape. Its easternmost areas were on the borders of Asansol district of West Bengal and Santal Parganas of Bihar. Major portion of Manbhum having acceded to West Bengal, in 1956, the easternmost area has been formed into a new district called 'Dhanbad', in Bihar. Poddārḍihi is a small hamlet of Pandara and is about 20 miles from district headquarters and 9½ miles from Barakar by the magnificent Grand Trunk Road. To reach the place, one has to proceed up to Nirsā, a small village on the Grand Trunk Road, and then to take the all-weather road from Nirsā to Jamtārā. Poddārḍihi is situated only at a distance of three miles from Nirsā, surrounded by the soot of coal area, settling on smiling fields of paddy cultivated by the 'Baruis'. Here there are four temples, in close proximity to one another, erected on an artificial platform faced with stones. The terrace or the platform (*jagati*) is rectangular in shape (100′×60′), access to which is obtained by a broad flight of steps (Fig. 4). The earliest notice of these temples is by J. D. Beglar, who described the group along with other temples from Manbhum.[1] During my stay in Bihar, I visited it on 25th July, 1959, to assess them. The local people had appealed to the Central Government for protection, since due to the abolition of zamindari, the temples were not being maintained by the landholder.

The material is uniformly of stone, now plastered with stucco and colour wash. All of them are of *Rekha* type somewhat analogous to the temples of Bengal, like Barakar, Telkupi,[2] etc. They consist each of a *pishṭa* (or *adhishṭhāna*), *jaṅghā*, *baraṇḍa*, *gaṇḍi*, and the *mastaka* with its component elements: *beki* or *grīvā*, *āmlā* or *āmalaka-śilā*, and *kalaśa*, with a *Bhadra* type of *maṇḍapa* to the front. The *garbhagṛha* is square internally, but externally with the aid of *rathas* (projecting angles) and *bhadras*, the ground plan (*Saṁsthānaka*) was star-shaped (*vṛtta*). The walls of the *bāda* are perpendicular, straight up to the *baraṇḍa* and the curvilinear *gaṇḍi*, then rising in horizontal courses, slopes inwards by

[1] Cunningham: *A.S.R.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 155ff.

[2] The site of Telkupi is now submerged under water. Information received from Śrimatī Devalā Mitra.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

imperceptible diminution of projections, till the last course is reached. Next comes *āmlā*, resting on a narrow neck (*grīvā*), over which is the *kalasa*. None of the *gaṇḍis*, however, has the graceful curves of their Orissan prototypes, but are short and stunted in appearance, like those of the Begunia group of temples, the temples at Telkupi; and the Siddeśvara, the Paścimeśvara and the Mohini temples at Bhuvaneśvara. The temple of Mānikeśvara occupies the central position on the *jagati* and seems to be coeval with it according to the original layout. It faces east and has three *arddha-maṇḍapas* on eastern, northern and southern sides. To the west is the great *saṁvṛtta-maṇḍapa* (porch attached to the shrine) with *Bhadra* type of roof, the domical ceiling of which was built on corbelling principle. Arches erected on this principle have already been met with at Nālandā, the temple at Konch and small ruined fanes in Manbhum district, such as Boram, etc. The interior of the *maṇḍapa* has two projections on the northern and southern sides. Each has an apsidal roof with a *jāli* window at either end. The western side of this picturesque *maṇḍapa* is pierced by a door to give access through the *antarāla* to the *garbhagṛha*. Externally, the walls of the *garbhagṛha* are divided on each face by pilasters, the central division of which forms a niche, originally containing an image. In one of these, a prostrate human figure was seen. Above *grīvā* is a *kalasa* of *Kakhāra* type, superimposed on *āmlā*.

The temple of Bāṇeśvara stands to the left of the entrance of the enclosed terrace. A small projecting doorway serves the purpose of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* facing north, and gives access to the interior. The roof of the doorway bears an *āmalaka*, with a floral object above it. The sanctum is square internally, while the exterior is divided by pilasters with a niche in the centre having the form of a miniature *Rekha* temple with half of an *āmalaka* (*bhumi-āmlā*) on top. The *gaṇḍi* is typically of *Rekha* variety, having a large *āmalaka* above the *grīvā*. The small doorway had once been ornate, with figures of *dvārapālas* at base of the *śakhās*, with a meandering creeper (*barajahañji*)[1] swinging above. The temple of Kapileśvara occupies a place just beside the *Mānikeśvara* with a *maṇḍapa* of *Bhadra* type (Fig. 5). While the *Mānikeśvara* has merely projecting brackets immediately below the *mastaka* like its Orissan prototypes: the brackets of Kapileśvara have lions on them.

The Bhagavatī or Pārvatī temple locally called *Bhoga-maṇḍapa* is to the right of the entrance, that is to the south of the central fane. It contains no cult image. Its *maṇḍapa* has a pyramidal roof of the *Bhadra* type (Fig. 6). On the *jaṅghā* we have a frieze of dancing *gaṇas* (Fig. 7), which is definitely an early piece, but now covered with stucco and generations of colour wash. Notwithstanding this great handicap their plastic qualities and rhythm are undeniable. The temple faces south and the *rahapaga* (central facet—where *sukanāsā* of northern temples exists) is occupied by two human-faced lions. Above on the four *bhadras* are brackets, containing lions standing on the snouts of *makaras*. The *āmlā* or *āmalaka-silā* has a *kalasa* above it.

As far as general composition and characteristics are concerned, the temples have remarkable affinities with the Orissan temples, their greater resemblance being with the Barakar group and Manbhum temples, a conclusion which receives support from the geographical context. Dhanbād district was originally a subdivision of Manbhum; which again formed a part of Uttara Rāḍhā, when Mahāvīra toured the area. It is within the famous coal-belt area of Bihar. The Orissan affinities this group of temples

[1] For definitions of terms cf. N. K. Bose: *Canons of Orissan Architecture.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

share in common with those in Bengal.[1] Nonetheless, an analysis establishes minor differences due to local variations. But so far as general plan, elevation and composition are concerned, it is better to take the group as a diffusion of the Orissan type.[2] All these show a high *bāḍa* with a stunted *gaṇḍi*, gradually carving inwards, with a disproportionately large *āmalaka*. In the arrangements of the *rathas*, *bhadras* and *pagas* they correspond to Orissa. All these temples are post-Muslim in date, probably thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D., but rebuilt by Pandara rājās at a later date. The survival of temples, or their renovation, is now no novelty to Indian archaeologists, after the opening up of Rajasthan area since integration. My friend Sri K. Deva has very correctly pointed out that many temples continued in use over long centuries and were renovated partly or completely, once or sometimes more often. *Jīrṇoddhāra* or renovation was always regarded as an act of merit. And, the Superintendent, Temple Survey Project, North India, possesses unrivalled knowledge about the ruined shrines on this side of the Vindhyas.

The objective evidences of this *jirṇoddhāra* at Poddārdihi are supplied by the disappearance of the cult images from the sanctums and those of the *parivāra devatās* from the niches of the *vimāna*; the apsidal roof of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the central shrine, with *jāli* windows at either end; the forms of the fanes; the sculptured frieze on the *baraṇḍa* of the so-called *Bhoga-maṇḍapa*; and the plastering of the stone walls. There are good grounds for believing that the layout on the *jagatī* has undergone changes. The temple of Vāneśvara and the so-called *Bhoga-maṇḍapa* or the former temple of Pārvatī or Bhagavatī occupies the extreme end of the elevated terrace. There might have been two other smaller shrines on the western side which have disappeared. Probably, therefore, it was originally a *pañchāyatana* group, like that of Sinnar in Nasik district, or at Osian. The temple of Kapileśvara is definitely an after-thought. Such groups of five temples have a long history in Bihar. They were a most popular feature since the Pāla period and have been met with at Bodh-Gayā and at Nālandā. They continued[3] in a very conventionalized manner till seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of the Christian era in the districts of Saran and Champāran. Later on, the four corner shrines lost all ritualistic or religious significance, but were mere architectural features.

If we now make a minute examination, based on the mass of evidence that has been collected, we find that three definite sub-schools of Ṇāgara temple architecture made themselves felt in post-Muslim Bihar. 'Magadha', as H. C. Ray Chaudhary correctly observed, 'is the Wessex of India.' It is generally assumed that it is a very well-known territory. Unfortunately, however, large tracts of this state is still *terra incognita*. The monuments of Champāran, Muzaffarpur, Saran, Purnea and Sahabad with particular reference to the Rohtas and Ramgarh areas, Palamau, Ranchi, Hazaribag, hill tracts of Munghyr, Santal Parganas are little known. Beautiful sculptures of the Gupta and later periods, recovered from Sakrogarh, on the ruins of which stand the bungalow of S.D.O., Rajmahal, at Sahibgaṇj, are lying in the local college and the railway school. Charming Vishṇu

---

[1] Percy Brown : *Op. cit.*, pp. 179-80.

[2] R. D. Banerji : *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 335.

[3] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. II, pp. 34–38, particularly those of Kanhauli, Rām-Jānki at Muzaffarpur, Pojhia, Akhrāghat (Muzaffarpur district); Baṅgrā, Chapra and Chainpur (in Saran district); Rāmnagar (in Champāran district) and Piprāghāt (in Darbhanga district). They are even now called 'Panch Mandirs'.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

images lie at a place called Bhainsasur in Champāran on the Bagaha river. Huge mounds in Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur, in Bhabua subdivision of Sahabad and the Kheṭaurigarhs in Munghyr are lying untraced. The whole of Saran has never known an archaeologist's spade. Geographical disparity in the constituent units of Bihar, combined with the tendency towards an overemphasis on few classical sites, mentioned in Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist tradition, has helped in nullifying a balanced archaeological assessment of Bihar. Behind the famous caves of Barabar, lie the ruins of a vast city. So-called Cyclopean walls and square towers, mentioned by Kauṭilya, are to be seen all over the area from behind Nāgārjuni hills up to Rāmgayā hill above the surface, running over hills and plains. This is the ancient city of 'Gorathagiri', given up to sword and flames by Khāravela, King of Kaliṅga. The area of Sudāmā and Lomasha Rishi caves were its suburbs, to defend which walls were built across the glens. Iron ore in virgin condition is to be found here.[1]

It may be truly said of Magadha art that it was not merely the amalgam of various cultural traditions and trends which throughout the centuries ceaselessly impinged on it; the genius of Magadha moulded them to give new plastic and architectural values. Just on the eve of the Turkish Conquest, several dynastic cultures had left impressions on it. These were the Pāla, the Pratihāra and the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasties. The great Rāshṭrakūṭa campaigns of Dhruva, Govinda III and Kṛshṇa III had left trails of cultural creation which are now not so apparent. Finally came the *Gāhaḍavālas*, whose greatest gift was the mediaeval Nāgarī as opposed to Proto-Bengali. That a king of Karṇāṭa visited at least portions of east Bihar lives in folk memory. The monolithic temple at Kahalgaon is ascribed to a Karṇāṭa king. The same is the case with Mandāra Hill. The first cultural erection after A.D. 1193 that meets our eye is the *Rekha* type of Orissa, which according to my colleague, Śrī Śrinivāsan, is itself a production of Chālukya-Rāshṭrakuṭa temple tradition diffused through Mukhaliṅgam. Significantly enough, this type of temple is met with in the hill tracts of Gaya, Hazaribag, Dhanbad, Manbhum and Ranchi districts. In Manbhum and Ranchi, there is not a temple which is not of the *Rekha* type. The areas were not merely contiguous to Orissa, but remained independent or semi-independent during Muslim rule, in which a mixed population of Hindus and aboriginals lived. But due to the times, and possibly also due to lack of skilled masons, we find in these rococo creations certain transformations from the classic phase of the style in Orissa. These are the *alindas* at Umga, the *gaṇḍi* at Deo and the floral motifs in place of *kalasas* on *maṇḍapas* at Pandara.

The chief characteristic of *Rekha* temples is the beauty in mass produced as an organic whole. They had a 'functional design'. A quality cannot materialize without a law of conduct and grammar of composition and design. The ancient Orissan engineers and architects had these qualities to a degree in the context of their social, economic, philosophical and cultural background. Ruskin's devotion to 'Renaissance' and 'classicism' did not permit him to make an unprejudiced evaluation of Indian art and its symbolism and he thought that they only produced monsters. I had stated, more than decades ago, that the various national styles are merely the local manifestations of universal sense of beauty and form in human heart. That is why Sir Jacob Epstein was so much influenced by Negroid Art. Robertson has correctly pointed out that 'to praise one

[1] The area has never been visited by any archaeologist except Principal Jackson and a Professor of Patna College and finally by myself and Sri P. C. Singh.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

style as good, and condemn another as bad, is to adopt the attitude of an European who lays it down that all English women are beautiful and Orientals are ugly'.[1]

The second characteristic is the *pañchāyatana* composition whose earliest occurrences and late survivals have already been dealt with.

A notable mode is supplied by the Bengal hut-shaped style in the jungle-covered areas, which resisted Muslim encroachments, notwithstanding the odds. The utilization of this mode was first made in the Turco-Afghan period, for example, the mosque founded by Alauddin Hussain Shah in mohalla Molnachak, near Bhagalpur railway station. But mediaeval Bihar contributed a new type—the conical hut type of Bihar. The primitive of this style is probably the Rājā and Rāṇī temples at Kharagpur in Munghyr district. Late Dr. D. B. Spooner has shown that this type of *śikhara* was extensively used in Bihar in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of the Christian era.[2] The earliest of these is the little temple at Sonpur, in Saran district. The Śiva temple at Padram, in the same district, shows development in the addition of an *uro-mañjarī*. This type is even now erected notwithstanding further development. One such example exists in the compound of Kishanganj P.S., in the Purnea district. The Harmandir at Ghatāru, in Muzaffarpur district, represents the addition of a further *uro-mañjarī* bringing the total to two. In this way Mahādeva temple at Chapra, in Saran, has three, while *Karṇaśriṅgas* appear in the Śiva temple at Bagaha and Triveni in Champāran district.[3]

Along with these primitive forms we find alien architectural motifs introduced by the masons. These are the false arches applied decoratively to the side walls, as in the temples at Sonpur, Ghaṭāru, Mahadeva temple at Chapra, Bagaha, Dandaspur in Saran district at Maruah Dih in the same district. This was the practice in U.P. (Fig. 8) and Bihar. They utilized even domes not merely for camouflage, but because the craftsmen were more conversant in their erection.[4] In the first place, if the tower of the temple was domical, there were chances of its escaping vandalism. Secondly, after A.D. 1200, the erection of mosques, *idgāhs*, *maktābs* and *Khanqāhs* replaced that of the temples, the monasteries, etc. In Bihar, many of the craftsmen were converted; therefore their skill increased in these directions.

---

[1] H. Robertson: *The Principles of Architectural Composition*, 1955, p. 2.
[2] *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, pp. 119ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, Pts. I to VI, pp. 122ff.
[4] The whole point has been discussed by the present writer in his chapter on 'History' of the *Revised Champaran Gazetteer*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

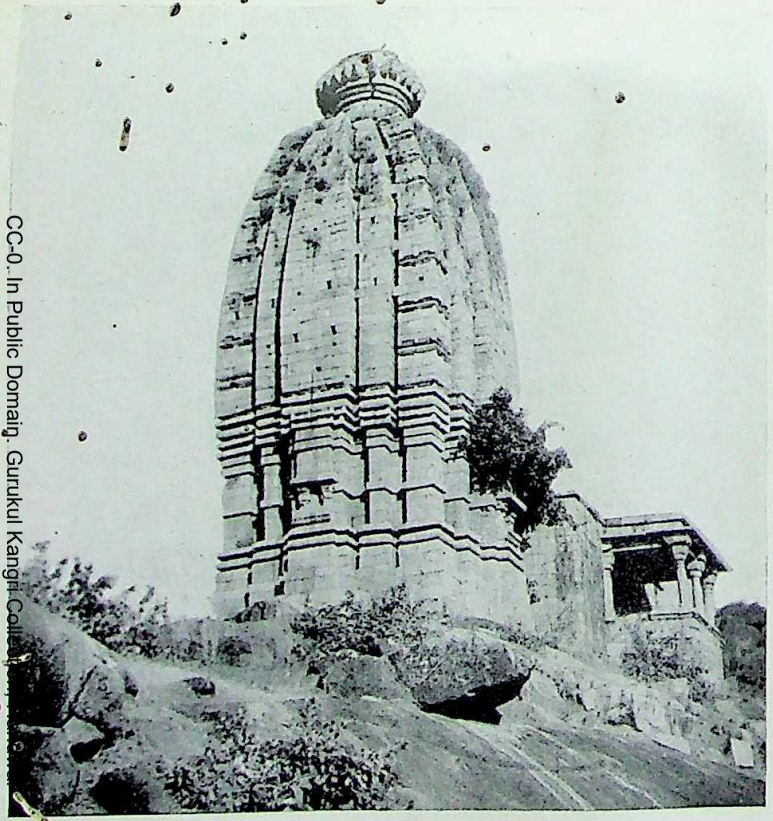


FIG. 1. Back of view of *Rekha* temple at Umgā, district Gaya; showing the southern *alinda*.
[*Copyright* P. C. Singh, M.A., P.C.S.

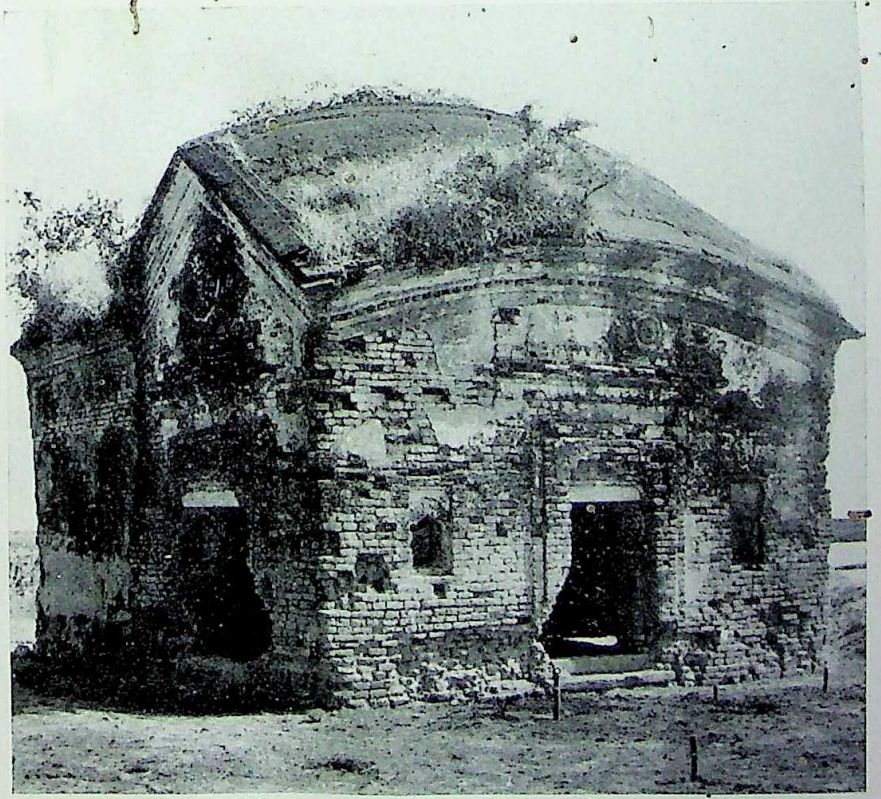


FIG. 2. Ruined Rāṇī temple near Kharagpur, district Munghyr, *c.* sixteenth century A.D.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FIG. 3. Floral design on stucco on the ceiling of a temple, Kharagpur, district Munghyr, *c.* sixteenth century A.D.

FIG. 4. General view of the group of temples at Pandara, district Dhanbad, *c.* A.D. 1200–1300. There is a modern Bengali inscription beside the entrance, later than that of Tārā Devi, widowed daughter of Rani Bhavani at Kanwa, district Varanasi.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

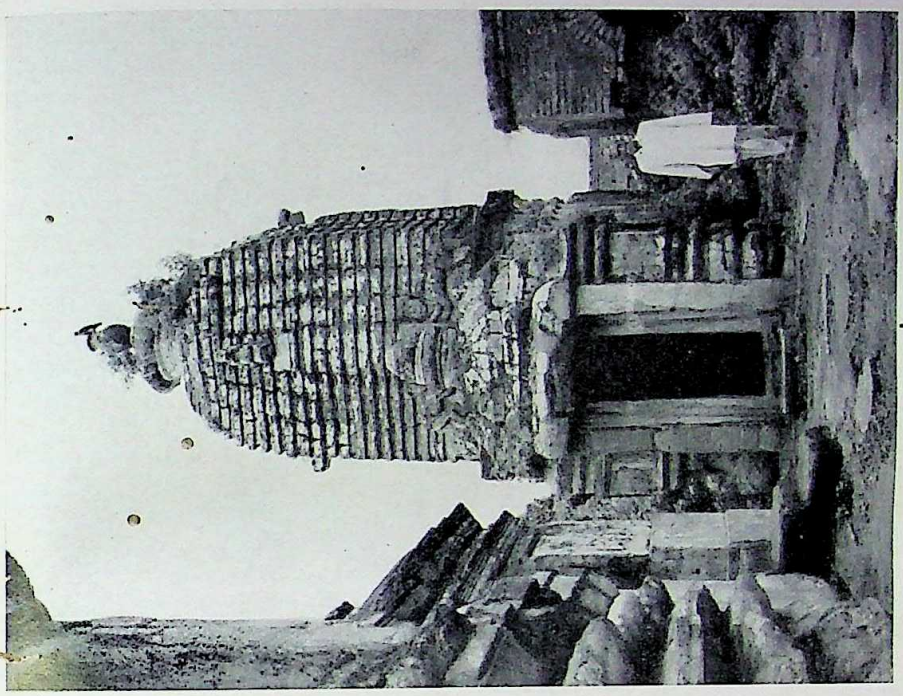


FIG. 6. Bhagavatī temple, Pandara, district Dhanbad, c. A.D. 1200–1300 (renovated).

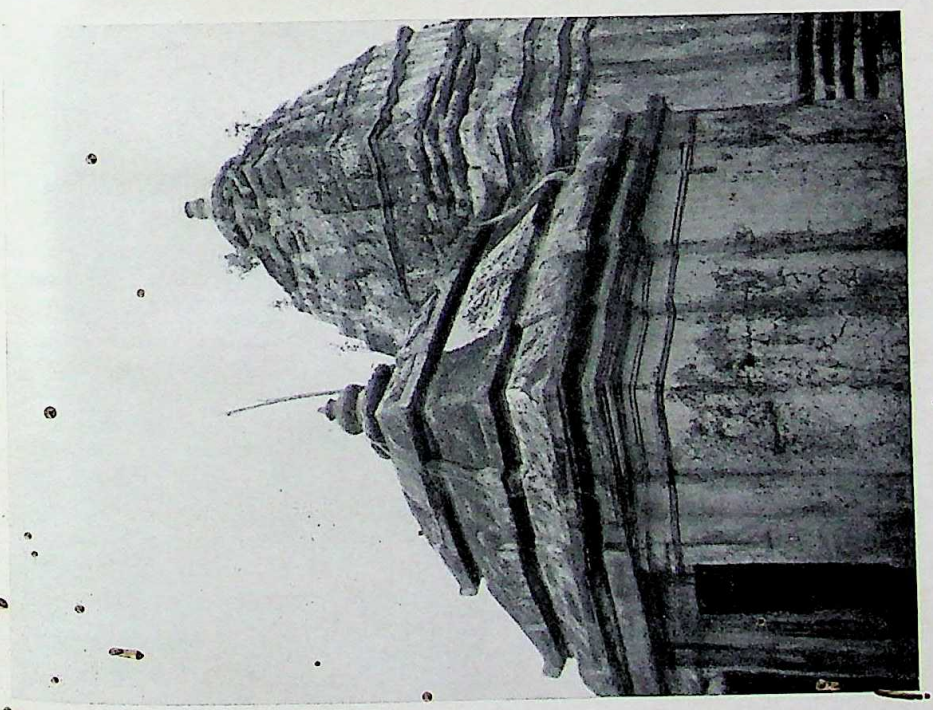


FIG. 5. Temple of Kapileśvara, Pandara, district Dhanbad, c. A.D. 1200–1300 (renovated).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FIG. 7. Frieze showing dancing *gaṇas*, Bhagavatī temple, Pandara.

FIG. 8. Mediaeval temple of Somrath, district Mirzapur, showing the use of dome, cusped arches, etc., *c.* A.D. 1400–1500.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Journal of the Asiatic Society.
Vol. IV, No. 2, 1962.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Il Ṇitivākyāmṛta di Somadeva Sūri. By Oscar Botto. Published by G. Giappichelli. Turin. 1962. Pp. 227. Price 2,400 lire.

Somadeva Sūri belongs to the line of Jaina monks of the post-Gupta period who combined zeal for their own faith with extensive knowledge of the branches of Brahmanical sacred and secular literature, the line which reached its climax in the person of the great twelfth-century monk Hemacandra whose prodigious learning earned for him the title of *Kalikālasarvajña* or the omniscient one of the Iron Age. In an earlier volume entitled *Saggi dal 'Nītivākyāmṛta' di Somadeva Sūri* (1953), Professor Botto has tackled various problems relating to this particular work. These investigations have now been brought to a head in the present monograph which consists of a translation in the author's native Italian of the whole work with a learned Introduction and copious notes.

A perusal of this work convinces one of the astonishing range and completeness of Dr. Botto's studies. Among the primary sources utilized by him are included not only Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (which is admittedly the main source of the author's inspiration) but also the literature of *nīti* and popular tales as well as animal fables, of Smṛtis (both aphoristic and metrical), of the Purāṇas, of the epics and *kāvyas*, and so forth. Along with these have been brought under contribution some relevant inscriptions. The secondary sources include a very large number of works and papers bearing even remotely on the subject, which have appeared from the pen of previous (mostly Indian) writers. A notable aspect of Dr. Botto's performance is that he not only makes an intelligent and critical use of his sources, but gives page-references in every case to the works of recent authors, thus presenting a model of scholarly honesty. The translation of the *Nītivākyāmṛta* is preceded by an Introduction, both portions being treated with remarkable thoroughness. The Introduction, comprising two parts which are entitled *The Author* and *The Work*, deals critically and exhaustively with numerous points of detail. Among the points coming under the head of *The Author* may be mentioned the following: (*a*) identification of the Rāshṭrakuta feudatory under whose patronage Somadeva wrote his earlier work *Yaśastilaka*, (*b*) credibility of the statement in an anonymous commentary of the *Nītivākyāmṛta* about the composition of this work at the request of a king called Mahendrapala of Kanauj, (*c*) identification of the Gauḍasaṁgha of the Jaina faith to which Somadeva belonged and of a king called Dharmāvaloka mentioned by the same author in his *Yaśastilaka*.

Under the head *The Work* Dr. Botto deals principally with the following points: (*a*) successive editions of the *Nītivākyāmṛta* in the *Grantharatnamālā*, the *Māṇikachandra Digambar Jaina*, and the *Mysore Sanskrit Series* (and the value of these editions), (*b*) the style of the *Nītivākyāmṛta* (which, unlike that of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya or the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka, is singularly delicate and elegant), (*c*) the relationship of *N°* to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (notwithstanding numerous concordances it cannot be accused of plagiarism but on the contrary belongs to the literacy type of *rājanīti* with the term *nīti* meaning not merely politics but general morals), (*d*) traces of religious moderation and moral equilibrium in *N°* reflecting the extraordinary religious tolerance of the epoch, (*e*) Somadeva's

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

acceptance of the Brahmanical doctrine of the authority of Śruti and Smṛti, of the institution of *varṇas*, and so forth, and his rejection of the Jaina post-canonical antithesis between *dharma* and *rājya* as well as his conception of law as a matter of universal conscience or else as a human patrimony defined as the just and the good, (*f*) analysis of Somadeva's polity (the State as a feudal unit of limited importance, the officials entrusted with different charges and subject to constant and careful control, the monarch being no absolute ruler), (*g*) the analysis of internal and external administration in Somadeva's polity (unreserved acceptance of Kauṭilya's Machiavellian policy; disapproval of the aggressive policy of the *vijigīshu* and in its stead advocacy of alliance, of negotiation and, in short, of normal and pacific diplomatic relations of States; simultaneous profession of common ethics and ethics of the State; goal not of the personal good or the king or the subjects but of the equilibrium of moral and religious duties of welfare and of life affecting all).

The translation is based upon the edition in the *Māṇikachandra Digambar Series* with frequent references to the better readings of the two other editions. Parallel passages are quoted in the original Sanskrit with accompanying Italian translations not only from Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* but also from the Smṛti and the Smṛti commentaries, from works of *nīti*, from the collection of popular tales like the *Hitopadeśa* and from the Purāṇas like the *Agnipurāṇa*. References are made to and quotations are given from the translations of select terms by other scholars, instances of such terms being *lañcha* or *luñcha* (p. 108n) and *karaṇa* (p. 117n).

It will appear from the above brief survey that the present work marks a distinct addition to our knowledge of the *nīti* literature of Ancient India. Nevertheless we may be permitted to make a few remarks for Dr. Botto's consideration in the event of a new edition being called for. For the purpose of comparison and contrast with the passages of the *N°* he occasionally mentions the *Hitopadeśa*, but he is silent about the more important work, viz. the *Panchatantra*, in its original version (as reconstructed by Edgerton) which is its principal source. Reference is made similarly to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, but no mention is made of the more ancient and important collection of the *Jātaka* stories. Dr. Botto again quotes no authority for attributing the authorship of the *Bṛhadarhannīti* to Kumārapāla of Gujerat, although this work is said to be a composition of Hemacandra himself under the patronage of that king by another authority (Winternitz in his *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. III, p. 530). Furthermore, the case for making the monarchy in the *N°* represent a kind of 'democratic-constitutional government' does not appear to be sufficiently strong. For, firstly, as in the *Arthaśāstra-Nīti* tradition the admitted reference to the necessity of the king's consultation with his ministers does not involve their control of the royal authority in any way; secondly, the prescription of the objectivity of justice without reference to the personal preferences of the king which is inculcated in the *N°* is not accompanied (as in Kauṭily's *Arthaśāstra* and the Dharmasūtras) by sanctions in the sense of making the king liable to legal penalties and the law of penance. The book is remarkably free from mistakes in transliteration of the numerous Sanskrit words, one of the few exceptions noticed by us being *taddatuḥ* on p. 107, n. 14. In view of the fact that the existing editions of the *N°* are out of print and they are vitiated more or less by corrupt readings, we earnestly trust that a new critical edition will be undertaken in the near future by this scholar who has given so much attention to its study during the last ten years.

U. N. GHOSHAL

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TAGORE'S EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY AND EXPERIMENT. By Sri Sunil Chandra Sarker. Published by the Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, May, 1961. Pages 199 with five illustrations. Price Rs.7.50.

The book presents the special features of Rabindranath Tagore's educational theory on which was based his great experiment at Santiniketan. In doing so the author briefly explains Tagore's philosophy, as he feels that his theory of education stems from it. In bringing out its characteristic features, he compares him with other theorists like Dewey and also refers to the Gandhian concept of education.

It appears that the author has performed his difficult task fairly satisfactorily. He has successfully traced the essential features of Tagore's theory of education. He rightly points out that Tagore took on the role of an educator to satisfy his own personal urge and that Tagore aimed at bringing about all-round development of the individual and in doing so he attached as much importance to the imaginative, aesthetic and emotional faculties of the student as to the intellect. He also brings out the virtue of the old *Tapovana* system of education which Tagore adopted at Santiniketan in that it creates an environment which spontaneously evokes the pupil's imaginative and emotional faculties.

In dealing with different aspects of Tagore's philosophy, however, it appears that the author has failed to appreciate the difference in the meaning of certain expressions used by Tagore in explaining his concept of the religion of man. Thus he identifies Tagore's concept of 'Universal Man' with his concept of the 'Supreme Person' (*vide* pp. 37 and 154). Again, he identifies 'Universal Man' with 'Viswakarma' (*vide* p. 49). According to him, therefore, these are synonymous terms. This is not, however, borne out by Tagore's own writings. The 'Supreme Person' is, according to Tagore, that manifestation of God which is a transcendental presence in man and is synonymous with his concept of 'Universal Man' (vide *Religion of Man*, pp. 165 and 181). The term 'Viswakarma' or 'World Worker' is applied by Tagore to an individual who works for all, that is for the general welfare of mankind (vide *Religion of Man*, p. 69).

HIRANMAY BANERJI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Jl. As. Soc., Vol. IV, No. 2, 1962.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TIBETAN STUDIES

Being a record of printed publications mainly in European Languages

By

SIBADAS CHAUDHURI

[*Continued from Jl. As. Soc., Vol. IV, No. 1, 1962. Supplement, page 136*]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Staël-Holstein (A. von).

1652. Kien-ch'ui-fan-tsan (Gaṇḍīstotragāthā), 1914. **Bibliotheca Buddhica, XV,** St. Petersburg.

1653. Remarks on an eighteenth century Lamaist document, 1923. **Kuo-hsüeh Chi-ksan (Peking), I,** 401.

1654. Notes sur un decret du Pan-chen Lama date de 1734, 1925. **Politique de Pekin, XIV.**

1655. The Kāśyapaparivarta. A mahāyānasūtra of the Ratnakūṭa class. Edited from the original Sanskrit in Tibetan and in Chinese. Shanghai, 1926.

1656. On two Tibetan pictures representing some of the spiritual ancestors of the Dalai Lama and of the Panchen Lama, 1932. **Bull. National Library of Peiping, VI,** 150; and **Jour. American Oriental Society, LII,** 338.

1657. On a Tibetan text translated into Sanskrit under Ch'ien Lung (18th Cent.) and into Chinese under Tao Kunag (19th Cent.), 1932. **Bull. National Library of Peiping, VI,** 508.

1658. A commentary to the Kācyapaparivarta. Edited in Chinese and Tibetan. Peking, 1933.

1659. On a Peking edition of the Tibetan Kanjur which seems to be unknown in the West, 1934. **Harvard Sino-Indian Series, III.**

1660. On the sexagenary Cycle of the Tibetans, 1935. **Monumenta Serica, I,** 277.

1661. On a Peking edition of the Tibetan Kanjur. Peiping, 1935.

Starr (L. A.).

1662. Tales of Tirah and Lesser Tibet. London, 1924.

Stcherbatsky (Th.) and **Obermiller** (E.). *See also* Nos. 1541-42.

1663. Indices Verborum Sanscrit-Tibetan and Tibetan-Sanscrit to the Nyāyabindu of Dharmakīrti and the Nyāyabindu ṭīkā of Dharmottara, 1928. **Bibliotheca Buddhica, XXV.**

1664. Abhisamayālaṅkāra-prajñāpāramitā-upadeśa-śāstra. Edited, explained and translated. Introduction, Sanskrit text and Tibetan translation. Fasc. (1), 1929. **Bibliotheca Buddhica, XXIII.**

1665. Buddhist Logic. 2 Vols., 1930. **Bibliotheca Buddhica, XXVI.**

1666. Tibetskü perevod Abhidharmakośakārikāh i Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam Sočinenni Vasubandhu, 1930. **Bibliotheca Buddhica, XX,** fasc. 2.

Stein (Aurel).

1667. A third journey of exploration in Central Asia (1913–16), 1917. **Indian Antiquary, XLVI,** 109, 137, 165, 193, 221, 249; **Geographical Journal, XLVII** (2), 97, 1916.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1668. A Chinese expedition across the Pamirs and Hindu Kush, A.D. 747, 1922. **Geographical Journal, LIX,** 112; **Indian Antiquary, LII** (1923), 98, 139, 173.

1669. Innermost Asia. 4 Vols. Oxford, 1928.

Stein (Rolf A.).

1670. Trente-trois fiches de divination tibétaines, 1939. **H.J.A.S., X,** 296.

1671. Notes d'étymologie tibétaine, 1942. **B.E.F.E.O., XLI,** 202.

1671(*a*). Mythes et concepts religieux relatifs à l'habitation en Chine du Nord et en—Haute-Asie. Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes (Sec. des Sciences religienses, 1950-1951, pp. 81–3.

1671(*b*). Si-hia et Mi-ñag, géographie historique et légendes ancestrales, 1951. **B.E.F.E.O., XLIV,** 42 pp.

1671(*c*). Récentes études tibétaines, chronique bibliographique, 1952. **Journal Asiatique, CCXL,** 79–106.

1671(*d*). L'épopée tibétaine de Gesar dans sa version lamaïque de Ling. **Annales Musée Guimet, Bibliothéque d'études, LXI;** Presses universitaires de France. Paris, 1956.

1671(*e*). Le liṅga des danses masquées lamaïques et la théorie des âmes 1957. **Sino-Indian Studies,** V (3–4), 36 pp.

1671(*f*). Les K'iang des marches sino-tibétaines, exemple de continuité de la tradition, in Annuaire, 1957-1958 de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Section Sciences religieuses, 28 pp.

1671(*g*). L'habitat, le monde et le corpe humain en Extrême-Orient et en Haute Asie, 1957. **Journal Asiatique, CCXLV,** 37 pp.

1671(*h*). Architecture et pensée religieuse en Extrême-Orient, 1957. **Arts Asiatiques,** IV (3), 23 pp.

1671(*i*). Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet. Paris, 1959. Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises).

1671(*j*). Les tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines, légendes, classifications et histoire, à paraître, Paris, 1959. [in Mélanges de L'Institut des Hautes Etudes chinoises, Sorbonne.]

1671(*k*). Peintures tibétaines de la vie de Gesar, 1958. **Arts Asiatiques,** V (4), 26 pp.

1671(*l*). Les religious de la chine. **Encyclopedie Française, XIX,** (Philosophie Religion). Paris, 1957.

Stevens (H.).

1672. Through deep defiles to Tibetan Uplands. The travels of a naturalist from the Irrawaddy to the Yangtse. London, 1934.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Stewart (J. L.).

1673. Notes of a botanical tour in Ladak or Western Tibet, 1868-69. **Trans. Edinb. Bot. Soc., X, 207.**

Stoetzner (W.).

1674. Ins underforschte Tibet. Tagebuch der dentschen Expedition Stotzner 1914. Leipzig, 1924.

Stoner (CHARLES).

1674(*a*). The Sherpa and the snowman. London, 1955.

Strachey (RICHARD).

1675. Narrative of a journey to the Lakes Cho Lagan, or Rákas Tal, and Cho Mapan, or Manasrowar, and the valley of Pruang, in Tibet, in September and October, 1846, 1848. **J.A.S.B.,** 103.

1676. On the physical geography of the provinces of Kumaon and Garhwal in the Himalaya mountains, and of the adjoining parts of Tibet, 1851. **J.R.G.S., XXI,** 57.

1677. Physical geography of Western Tibet. With a map, 1853. **J.R.G.S., XXIII,** 1.

1678. Connection between Manasarowar and Rakas-tal, 1898-99. **Nature, LIX,** 76.

1679. Narrative of a journey to the Lakes Raks-tal and Manasarowar, in Western Tibet, undertaken in September, 1848, 1900. **Geographical Journal, XV,** 150, 243 and 394.

Stramigioli (G.).

1679(*a*). Bhāvasaṅkrānti, 1936. **Rivista degli Studi Orientali, XVI,** 294–306.

Stutterheim (W. F.).

1680. De Tibetaansche Afdeeling in 's Rijks Ethnographisch Museum te Leiden. **Elsevier's Geïll. Maandschrift,** Mei 1922, pp. 314–18, ills.

Suvirov (N. I.).

1681. Tibet. Opisanie strany i otnošenie K nej kitaja i Anglii do poslédnjago vrenemi. St. Petersburg, 1905.

Suzuki (D. T.).

1681(*a*). Tibetan Tripitaka. Now being reprinted under the supervision of the Otani University, Kyoto, and edited by D. T. Suzuki, 1957-58.[1]

[1] A reprint of the Peking 1737 revision of the 1684 edition which was in turn reprinted from the Yung-lo edition of 1410. Published in 162 volumes, 4to, leather-bound, on fine paper with many illustrations. The volumes comprise: Bhgyer (45 volumes), Bstanhgyur (105 volumes) and Appendix (12 volumes).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

T

T'ao Szu-tseng.

1682. Übersatzung des Tagebuchs einer Reise nach Tibet. **Asien, IX,** 145, 153.

Tachibana (S.).

1683. Tō Ban ryōkoku bukkyō no kōshō. (The relations between Tibetan and Chinese Buddhism under the T'ang dynasty), 1934. **Shukyo Kenkyu, XI,** 4.

Tafel (ALBERT).

1684. Lebrang Gomba. Über land u. Meer: C1/512, 1909.

1685. Reise in China und Tibet, 1905–08. Kartographische Ergebnisse. Berlin. Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, 1912.

1686. Meine Tibetreise. Eine studienfahrt durch das nordwestliche China und durch die innere Mongolei in das östliche Tibet. 2 Vols. Berlin. Meine mehrjährige reise im Chinesischen Reiche, 1914. **Korr. Bl. D. Ges. f. Anthr., XXXIX,** 118.

Takacs (Z. VON).

1687. Das Franz Hopp Museum in Budapest, 1928. **Mitt. Ges. Ostas. Kunst,** No. III, 6.

Takeda (Y.).

1687(*a*). Chibetto-Bun 'Abidatsuma-kusha-ron', II. [Abhidharmakośa-Sāstra, Chap. II (Indriya). Tibetan Version.] Kyōto Chōjiya, 1937.

Takakusu (J. A.).

1688. Tales of the wise man and the fool, in Tibetan and Chinese, 1901. **J.R.A.S.,** 447.

1689. A comparative study of the Tri-piṭaka and the Tibetan Dsan-lun, the wise man and the fool. **Actes XII. Congr. Int. des Or., II,** 11.

Tang (KAI-PING).

1689(*a*). Hsi-tsang yu-chi (A trip to Tibet). Shanghai, 1931.

Tanner (H. C. B.).

1690. Our present knowledge of the Himalayas, 1891. **P.R.G.S., XIII,** 403.

1691. A few lines on Mount Everest. **Calcutta Great Trigonometrical Survey,** 1900.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Tao-ts'iuan (YU).

1691(*a*). Chelchou Ming Tch'eng-tsou tsien che tchao Tsong-k'o pa ki-che ki Tsong-k'o pa fou Tch'eng-tson chou (Explanation and commentary of the narrative of the Envoy of a mission from the emperor Yong-lo of the Ming dynasty for summoning Tsong-kha-pa, and the reply of Tsong-kha-pa to Yong-lo). 1933–35. **Mélanges Ts'ai yuan P'ei, II**, pp. 939–66, 1 pl. (Pékin).

Tashi Wongdi.

1692. Tibetan-English-Hindi guide. Calcutta, 1909.

Taylor (ANNIE R.).

1693. An English woman in Tibet, 1893. **National Review,** September.

1694. My experiences in Tibet, 1894. **Scottish Geographical Magazine, X** (1), 1.

1695. Pioneering in Tibet. London, 1899.

1696. The only English woman in Tibet, 1904. **Wide World Magazine,** August.

Taube (M.).

1697. Die Wiedergabe sanskritischer Verbformen im tibetischen Texte des Bodhicaryāvatāra; Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl Marx Universitat, Leipzig, 1953-54, IV, pp. 393–412.

1698. Miss Taylor's recent journey in Tibet, described by W. W. Rockhill, 1894. **Geographical Journal, III,** 423-24.

Teichman (ERIC).

1699. Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet.[1] Cambridge, 1922.

1700. Journeys through Kam (Eastern Tibet), 1922. **Geographical Journal, LIX,** 1.

Temple (R. C.).

1701. Outlines of Indo-Chinese history (Repr. from Hutchinson's History of the Nations, 1914–16, pp. 1810–30), 1916. **Indian Antiquary, XLV,** 37.

1702. Scraps of Tibeto-Burman folk-lore, 1930-31. **Indian Antiquary, LIX,** 184; **LX,** 30, 115, 155, 183, 224.

Temple (R. C.) AND **Francke** (A. H.).

1703. Remarks on a photograph, near Ating, taken by Eric Upton, during a tour in Zangskar in 1907. **Indian Antiquary, XXXVII,** 332.

[1] Together with a history of the relations between China, Tibet and India.

CC-0. In Public Domain, Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Toramoto (E.).

1704. Ramakyô Kyôri gaisetsu Général (Exposition of the doctrine of Lamaism). **Osaki-gukuhô, XI,** 22.

1705. Zemmui Sanzō no meigi wa Tobango no onyaku Ka (The Chinese of Śubhakara-simha-chan-won-wei-est-it in transcription Tibetan phonetique), 1931. **Shukyo-gaku, VII,** 93.

1705(*a*). Chibetto-bun 'Abidatsuma-kusha-ron', I (Kai-hon) [Abhidharmakośa-śāstra. Chapter I (Dhātu). Tibetan Version]. Kyōto, Chōjiya, 1936.

1705(*b*). Chibetto-bun Ryūju Zō 'Chū-ron-mui-sho' (Nāgārjuna's Mūlamadhayamakavṛtty-akuto-bhayā. Tibetan Version). Kyōto, Mokudōsha, 1936.

Terrien de la Couperie (A.).

1706. The silver coinage of Tibet, 1882. **Numismatic Chronicle, Ser. 3, I,** 340.

Terzorio (Fr. Clemente da).

1706(*a*). In India e nel Tibet, Missionari Italiani nel paese dei lama, Rome, 1932.

Thevenot (Melchisedec), **Kircherus** (Athanasius) and others.

1707. Travels through Tibet, Western Tartary, Karazn, and Bukharlas.[1] (J. H. Moore's New complete collection of voyages, pp. 609).

Thiébault-Sisson.

1708. Le Calice du Grand-Lama, 1903. **T'oung Pao, Ser. 2, IV,** 251.

Thienen (F. W. S. von)—ed.

1708(*a*). Exotische Kunst, De Kunst von China, Japan, de Indischegebieden, Afrika. Utrecht, 1951.

Thiselton-Dyer (W. T.).

1709. The sacred tree of Kum-Bum, 1896. **Nature, LIII,** 412.

Thomas (F. W.).

1710. Mātriceta and the Mahārājakanikalekha, 1903. **Indian Antiquary, XXXII,** 345; **XXXIII,** 31.

1711. Note on Mahārāja Kanika. **International Congress Orientalists, XIII,** 40.

1712. Notes from the Tanjur, 1903. **J.R.A.S.,** 345, 586, 703, 785.

1713. Deux collections sanscrites et tibétaines de sādhanas. **Muséon, NS, IV,** I.

[1] duj Thevenot, Kircher, Du Halde, Gruebar, Dorvile, etc.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1714. The works of Āryaśūra, Triratnadāsa and Dhārmika-Subhūti, **Album Kern**, 405.

1715. Desiderata for the extension of the collections of Tibetan books in the India Office Library. London, 1904.

1716. Notes from the Tanjur, 1904. **J.R.A.S.**, 733.

1717. The Varṇanārhavarnana of Mātṛceta. Tibetan text from the Tanjur (India Office, and Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg) and translated. First half, 1905. **Indian Antiquary, XXXIV**, 145.

1718. Tibetan documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. **J.R.A.S.**, 1927–34.
1—The Ha-Za (1927, 51).
2—The Sa-Cu region (1927, 807).
3—The Nob-region (1928, 555).
4—The Khotan region (1930, 47 and 251).
5—(*a*) The Drug-gu, (*b*) the Hor, (*c*) the Phod-Kar (1931, 807).
6—The Tibetan army (1933, 379 and 537).
7—Government and social conditions (1934, 85, 249 and 457).

1719. The Źaṅ-źuṅ language, 1933. **J.R.A.S.**, 405.

1720. Glimpses of life under Tibetan rule in Chinese Turkestan,[1] 1933. **Man, XXXIII**, 101.

1721. Tibetan literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. Part 1. Literary texts. Part 2. Plates. London, 1935 and 1951[2]. **Oriental Translation Fund, NS, 32** and **37**.

1721(*a*). Indianism and its expansion. University of Calcutta, 1942. [Chapter VI.]

1722. The early population of Lou-Lan-Shan-Shan, 1944. **Journal Greater India Society, XI**, 45.

1723. Nam: An ancient language of the Sino-Tibetan borderland. Oxford, 1948. (Philological Society, 14.)

1723(*a*). The Tibetan alphabet. Festschrift zur Feier des zweihundert jährigen Bestehens der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Berlin-Göttingen-Heidelberg, 1951, pp. 146–65.

1723(*b*). Ancient folk-literature from North-Eastern Tibet. (Introduction, texts, translations and notes.) Berlin, 1957. [Abh. Deut. Akad. Wiss, Kl. Sprachen, Lit. u. Kunst, 1952, 3.]

1723(*c*). Buddhism in Khotan: its decline according to two Tibetan accounts.
Asutosh Mukherji Jubilee, Vol. III (Orientalia), Pt. 3, pp. 30–52.
1—Prophecy of the Arhat Saṅghavardhana:
Dgra-bcom-pa-Dge-hdun-hphel-gyis-lun-bstan-pa.
2—Prophecy of Li-yul:
Li-Ñi-yul-Luṅ-Bstan-pa.

---

[1] In the eighth century A.D.
[2] Parts 3-4. Addenda and corrigenda, with Tibetan vocabulary, concordance of document numbers and plates. 1955, 1962. **O.T.F., NS, 40-41.**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Thomas (F. W.) AND CLAUSON (G. L. M.).

1724. A Chinese-Buddhist text in Tibetan writing, 1926. **J.R.A.S.**, 508.

1725. A second Chinese-Buddhist text in Tibetan characters, 1927. **J.R.A.S.**, 281.

Thomas (F. W.) AND GILES (L.).

1726. A Tibeto-Chinese word-and-phrase book, 1948. **B.S.O.A.S., XII**, 753–69.

Thomas (F. W.) AND KONOW (STEN).

1727. Two mediaeval documents from Tun-Huang. Oslo, 1929.

Thomas (F. W.), MIYAMOTO (S.) AND CLAUSON (G. L. M.).

1728. A Chinese Mahāyāna catechism in Tibetan and Chinese characters, 1929. **J.R.A.S.**, 37.

Thomas (LOWELL JACKSON).

1728(*a*). Out of this world, across the Himalayas to Forbidden Tibet. New York, 1950.

Thompson (H. G.).

1729. From Yunnan-Fu to Peking along the Tibetan and Mongolian borders, including the last journey of Brig.-Gen. G. E. Pereira, 1926. **Geographical Journal, LXVII**, 2.

Thomson (THOMAS).

1730. Western Himalaya and Tibet; a narrative of a journey through the mountains of Northern India, during the years 1847-48. London, 1852.

Thonmi Sambhota

1731. Une grammaire tibetaine du tibetaine classique. Les Slokas grammaticause de Thonmi Sambhota avec leurs commentaires. Tibetan and French, 1928. **Annales Musée Guimet: Bibliothéque Etudes, XXXVII.**

Thungik Phunchok Wangden.

1732. Poi Kyi Ka pe Daûpe. Tibetan first reading book. Darjeeling, 1889.

Tibetan Pioneer Mission.

1733. Origin of the Tibetan Pioneer Mission, together with some facts about Tibet. London, 1894.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Tichy (HERBERT).

1734. Zum heiligsten Berg der Welt.[1] Auf Landstrassen u. Pilgerpfaden in Afghanistan, Indien u. Tibet. Geleitw. von S. Hedin. Wien, 1949.

Toeplitz Mrozowska (E.).

1735. Visioni Orientali. Milano, 1930.

Tohoku Imperial University and Saito Gratitude Foundation.

1736. A catalogue-index of the Tibetan-Buddhist canons. 2 Vols. Sendai, 1934.

Tokarskij (A.).

1737. Zaklinanija so strěl boj tibetskich lam. **Voprosy Filosofi I Psichologii, V,** 182.

Tokushi (Y.).

1738. Sentai-butsu to Suri-butsu (Thousand Buddhas and the terracotta Buddhas), 1929. **Shukyo Kenkyû,** Nov., 10.

Toledo (OHIO) MUSEUM OF ART.

1739. Northeastern Asiatic Art, Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, and Tibet; catalogue of an exhibition . . . , 1942.

Tolstoy (I.).

1739(*a*). Across Tibet from India to China, 1946. **National Geographic Magazine, XC,** 169–222.

Torrens (LT.-COL.).

1740. Travels in Ladāk, Tartary, and Kashmir. 2nd ed. London, 1863.

Toscano (GIUSEPPE M.).

1741. La prima missione cattolica nel Tibet. Parma—Hongkong, 1951.

Toussaint (GUSTAVE-CHARLES).

1742. Le Padma Than-Yig; tr. of Chapters 1 and 12 to 22, 1920. **B.E.F.E.O., XX** (4), 13–56.

1743. Le Dict de Padma. Padma Than Yig, Ms. de Lithang, traduit du Thibétain, 1933. **Bibl. de L'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises (Paris), III,** 540 pp.

Trevisani (P.).

1744. Sven Hedin nel Tibet inesplorato. Torino, 1933.

---

[1] English translation (title, *Tibetan Adventure*) by Ian F. D. Morrow and L. M. Sieveking. London, 1938.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Trinkler (EMIL).

1745. Tibet, sein geographisches Bild und seine stellung in Asiatischen Kontinent. München, 1922.

1746. The ice-age on the Tibetan plateau and in the adjacent regions, 1930. **Geographical Journal, LXXV,** 225.

1747. Im land der stürme. Berlin, 1930.

1748. Das land des Dalai-Lama. Berlin, 1930.

Tronnier (RICHARD).

1749. Die Durchquerung Tibets seitens der Jesuiten Johannes Grueber u. Albert de Dorville im J. 1661. Eine Studie üb. das Leben u. die Reise der beiden Veter, 1904. **Z. Ges. f. Erdk. Blirrä,** 328.

1750. Jesuiten Johannes Grueber and journey across Tibet (English summary of No. 1749), 1904. **Geographical Journal, XXIV,** 663.

Trotter (H.).

1751. Account of the Pundit's journey in Great Tibet from Leh in Ladakh to Lhasa, and of his return to India via Assam, 1877. **J.R.G.S., XLVII,** 86; and **P.R.G.S., XXI,** 325.

Tsibikoff and Narzunoff.

1752. Views of Lhasa. Illustrations, 1905. **National Geographic Magazine, XVI,** 27.

Tsibikoff (G. T. S.).

1753. A Russian explorer in Lhasa (Zybikoff), 1903. **Scottish Geog. Magazine, XIX,** 491.

1754. The forbidden city of Lhasa, 1904. **Strand Magazine,** February.

1755. Lhasa and Central Tibet, 1904. Trad. des Izviestiya de la Soc. Imp. Russe de Geographie, 1903, XXXIX/187. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Inst. for 1903, pp. 727–46.

1756. Journey to Lhasa, 1904. **Geographical Journal, XXIII,** 92.

1757. Buddhist Polomnik u Svyatin Tibeta: A Buddhist pilgrim at the Tibetan Sanctities. A diary kept in the years 1899–1902; ed. by B. A. Grigorieff, C. F. Oldenburg, F. J. Stcherbatsky and K. A. Grogorieff. Petrograd, 1919.

Tsuchida (C.). *See under* WOGIHARA (U.), JT. AUTHOR.

Ts'ên (CHI-TUNG).

1758(*a*). Wei-tsang t'ung-chih (Gazetteer of Tibet), 1896.

1758(*b*). 'gtsug-lag Tśós-kyi Snaṅ ba si-tui sum-rtags, 1743. (Reprinted. Bengal Secretariat Press, 1895.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1758(*c*). Ryūju no Sanhokkai-jo to Hyakusen-judaijikkyōjizōbosatsus hōmonhosshin-san to Zōbun-Dharmadhātustotra. (A comparison of three texts attributed to Nāgārjuna: Dharmadhātustotra (Taishō, No. 1457), Kṣitigarbha paripṛacchā dharmakāyastotra (?) (Taishō, No. 413) in Chinese translation, and Dharmadhātu-stotra in Tibetan translation), 1933. **Ryukoku daigaku ronso**, 306, 307, July.

1758(*d*). 'Shō-dai jōkengo-jinshin-bon-kyō' no Kaidai narabini Wayaus (Arya-sthirādhyaśaya-pari-varta-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra, translated into Japanese from the Tibetan Version, with an introduction), 1939. **Ryūkoku Gakuhō** (326), 31 pp.

1758(*e*). Chibettobun' Jakushō-jimben-samajikyō' Shi-yaku (Japanese translation of the Āryapraśānta-viniścaya-prātihārya-nāma-samādhi-Mahāyāna-sūtra from Tibetan Version), 1949. **Bukkyō-gaku Kenkyū, I** (January), 19–54.

Tucci (Giuseppe).

1759. The Nyāyamukha of Dignāga, the oldest Buddhist text on logic after Chinese and Tibetan materials, 1930. Quinzième cahier des Materialien de M. Walleser, 1930.

1760. A fragment from the Pratītya-samutpādavyākhyā of Vasubandhu, 1930. **J.R.A.S.**, 611.

1761. Notes on the Nyāya-praveśa by Śaṅkarasvāmin, 1931. **J.R.A.S.**, 381.

1762. Two hymns of the Catuḥ-stava of Nāgārjuna, 1932. **J.R.A.S.**, 309.

1763. Indo-Tibetica: I. Mc'od rten e ts'a ts'a nel Tibet Indiano ed occidentale. Rome, 1932.

1764. Travels of Ippolito Desideri, 1932. **J.R.A.S.**, 353.

1765. Indo-Tibetica: II. Rin c'en Bzan Po e la rinascata del Buddhismo nel Tibet intorno al Mille. Roma, 1933.

1766. The Ratnāvalī of Nāgārjuna. From the Tibetan MS., Ostan Agyur, mDo agrel, Vol. E, fol. 124, 1934. **J.R.A.S.**, 307.

1767. Indo-Tibetica: III. I templi del Tibet. Occidentale ed il loro simbolismo artistoco Parte I–II. Roma, 1935-36.

1768. Hitherto unknown in Tibet: Paintings recalling the art of Ajanta, 1936. **Illustrated London News**, January, 18, 81.

1768(*a*). Some glosses upon the Guhyasamaja, 1934-35. **Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, III**, 339–53.

1768(*b*). Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto. Diario della spedizione nel Tibet occidentale, 1935. Milano, 1937.

1768(*c*). Recent Italian explorations in Tibet, 1939. **New Asia, I** (1), 10–5.

1768(*d*). Un principato indipendente nel cuore del Tibet: Sachia, 1949. **Asiatica (Rome), VI** (6), 353–60, 7 ill.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1768(*e*). La mia spedizione nel Tibet, 1940. **Asiatica, VI** (1), 1–13; 13 ill.

1769. Travels of Tibetan pilgrims in the Swat Valley. Calcutta, 1940.

1770. Forme dello spirito asiatico. Milano, 1940.

1771. Indo-Tibetica: IV. Gyantse ed i Suoi Monasteri. 3 Vols. Roma, 1941.

1772. Tibetan book covers, 1947. **Art and Thought**, 63.

1773. The validity of Tibetan historical tradition, 1947. **India Antique**, 309–22.

1774. On sone bronze objects discovered in Western Tibet. **Artibus Asiae, V**, 105.

1775. Indian paintings in Western Tibetan temples. **Artibus Asiae, VII**, 191.

1776. Unknown monasteries of mysterious Tibet visited during a recent journey of exploration. **Illustrated London News**, February, 17, 246.

1777. Tibetan folk-songs, from the district of Gyantse, 1949. **Artibus Asiae: Supplement VII.**

1778. Il libro tibetano dei morti.[1] Milano, 1949.

1779. Teoria e pratica del mandala conparticolare riguardo alla moderna psicologia del profonda, 1949. **Psiche e conscienza, XII.** Roma.

1780. Tibetan notes, 1949. **Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, XII**, 477.

1781. Tibetan painted scrolls.[2] 3 Vols. Roma, 1949.

1782. To Lhasa and beyond, 1950. **Annali Lateranensi, XXIV** (1), 35–41.

1783. The tombs of the Tibetan Kings. Roma, 1950. (Serie Orientale Roma.)

1784. The Jātinirākṛti of Jitāri. **A.B.O.R.I., XI**, 54.

1785. A Lhasa e oltre. Diario della spedizione nel Tibet, 1948. Roma, 1950.[3]

1785(*a*). Buddhist notes. I. Apropos Avalokiteśvara. II. On the Tibetan cycle of Arhats, 1951. **Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, IX**, 173–220.

1785(*b*). Earth in India and Tibet, 1953. **Eranos, XXII**, 323–64.

---

[1] Il libro della salvazione dall' esistenza intermedia.

[2] Tibetan Painted Scrolls. An artistic and symbolic illustration of 172 Tibetan paintings preceded by a survey of the historical, artistic, literary and religious development of Tibetan culture. With an article of P. Pelliot on a Mongol edict, the translation of historical documents and an appendix on pre-Buddhistic ideas of Tibet. Text in 2 vols, 4to, with plates in folio, portfolio, together 3 vols., with 256 plates, 25 of them in colour.

[3] Con un'appendice sulla medicina e l'igine nel Tibet di R. Moise.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1785(*c*). The secret characters of kings of ancient Tibet, 1955-56. **East and West, VI,** 197–205.

1785(*d*). To Lhasa and beyond. Diary of the expedition to Tibet in the year 1947. With an appendix on Tibetan medicine and hygiene, by R. Moise. Translated from the Italian by M. Carelli, 1956.

1785(*e*). The Fifth Dalai Lama as a Sanskrit scholar, 1957. **Sino-Indian Studies, V** (3–4), 235–40.

Tucci (G.) AND GHERSI (E.).

1786. Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale. Roma, 1933.

1787. Cronaca della Missione scientifica Tucci nel Tibet occidentale, 1933. Roma, 1934.

1788. Secrets of Tibet; being the chronicle of the Tucci scientific expedition to Western Tibet (1933). Translated from the Italian by M. A. Johnston. London, 1935.

Tung Tso-pin.

1789. New evidence concerning the genealogy of Tibeto-Burman people, 1940. **Bull. Ethnological Studies, II,** 181.

Turner (C. H. P.).

1790. The colloquial language of Tibet.[1] Darjeeling, 1897.

Turner (SAMUEL).

1791. Ambassade au Thibet et au Boutan, Contenant des détails très—curieux sur les Moeurs, la Religion, les Productions et le Commerce du Thibet, du Boutan et des etats voisins, et une Notice sur les evenemens qui s'y sont passés jusqu'en 1793; traduit de l'anglais avec des notes, par J. Castéra. 2 Vols. Paris, 1800.

1792. Narrative of the particulars of the journey of Teshoo Lama, and his suite, from Tibet to China, from the verbal report of Poorungheer Gosein. (Extracted from Mr. Turner's Embassy to Tibet), 1800. **Asiatic Annual Register** (Misc. Tracts), 58.

1793. Translation of a letter from Kien Long, Emperor of China, to Dalai Lama, the Grand Lama of Tibet. (Extracted from Mr. Turner's Embassy to Tibet), 1800. **Asiatic Annual Register** (Misc. Tracts), 69.

1794. Samuel Turner's, Captains in Diensten der ostind. Compagnie. Gesandtschaftseise an den Hof des Teshoo Lama durch Bootan und einen Theil von Tibet. Aus dem Englischen Übersetzt. Berlin, 1801.

[1] Lhasa pronunciation.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1795. Turner's Reisen nach Butan und Tibet. Aus dem Engl. von Sprengel. Weimar, 1801.

1796. An account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet. Containing a narrative of a journey through Bhootan, and part of Tibet. To which are added views taken on the spot, by S. Davis; and observations botanical, mineralogical, and medical by R. Saunders. 2nd ed., London. 1806.

1797. An account of a journey to Tibet to the Hon'ble John Macpherson, Esq. Governor-General, etc., etc., Fort William, 1788. **Asiatick Research, I** (8), 207–21. French tran. by M. Parraud.

1798. Ambascieria al Tibet e al Batan. 3 Vols., Milano. 1817.

Turrettini (François).

1799. Voyage et aventures de M. et Mme Rijnhart, médecins-missionnaires, dans le Thibet Oriental, 1899. **B.S.G. Genève, XXXVIII**, 122.

U

Uchtomskij (Esper).

1800. Lz oblasti lamaizma. K Pokhodu angličan na Tibet. St. Petersburg, 1904.

Ui (H.).

1801. On the author of the Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra, 1928. **Zeit. für Indologie und Iranistik, VI**, 215.

1801(*a*). Miroku-bosatsu to Miroku-ronji (Maitreya the Bodhisattva and Maitreya the Master of Śāstras), 1952. **IBK, I** (1), 96–102.

Ular (Alexander).

1802. England, Russia and Tibet,[1] 1902. **Contemporary Review, LXXXII**, 843.

1803. The solution of the Tibetan problem, 1904. **Contemporary Review, LXXXV**, 640.

1804. Au 'Royaume des neiges'. **Le Monde Moderne, XIX**, 215.

1805. La papaute bouddhique. **La Revue, LI**, 169.

Uljanov (Dambo).

1806. "Dsche-du-nin-nov", Kap. 91 u. "Chlan-tab", Kap. 30: Ueber die Behandlung der Pest, der Cholera u. des Aussatzes nach tibetanischen Grundsätzen. St. Petersburg, 1902.

Unkrig (W. A.).

1807. Aus din letzten fahzfehnten des Lamaismus in Russ land. Muenchen, 1926.

[1] Extract in *Belgique Coloniale*, 21 Décembre, 1902, p. 604, under the title *l' Angleterre, la Russie et le Thibet.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1808. Ein moderner buddhistischer Katechismus für burjatische Kinder 1928. **Anthropos, XXIII,** 475.

1809. Lamaistische Selbst Versenkung, 1930. **Der Erdball, IV,** 324.

1809(*a*). Kosmetika in Tibet und der Mongolei. Ein Ausflug ins Reich asiatischer Drogen, 1954. **Oriens, VII,** 265–89.

Upcraft (Wm.).

1810. Notes of a journey on the Tibetan Frontier, 1899. **Chin. Rec., XXX,** May, 232.

Uray (Géza).

1811. A Tibetan diminutive suffix,[1] 1952. **Acta Orientalia Hungarica, II** (2-3), 183–220.

1812. Some problems of the ancient Tibetan verbal morphology, methodological observations in recent studies, 1953. **Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae, III** (1-2), 37–62.

1812(*a*). The Suffix -e in Tibetan, 1953. **Acta Orientalia Hungarica, III** (3), 229–44.

1812(*b*). Duplication, gemination and triplication in Tibetan, 1955. **Acta Orientalia Hungarica, IV,** 177–244.

1812(*c*). On the Tibetan letters *ba* and *wa*. Contribution to the origin and history of the Tibetan alphabet. **Acta Orientalia Hungarica,** 1955, V, 101.

V

Valiahmetov (G. M.).

1813. Vnutrennee ustrojstov Tibeta. (The internal structure of Tibet), 1956. **Sov. Gos. Pravo., VII,** 113–18.

Vasiléva (V.).

1814. Geografija Tibeta. Perevod iz tibetskago sočinenija Mińčžul-Chutukty, 1895. **St. Petersburg-Aka., IV,** 8.

Vekerdi (József).

1814(*a*). Some remarks on Tibetan prosody, 1952. **Acta Orientalia Hungarica, II** (2-3), 221–33.

Venske (O.).

1815. Die erdmagnetischen Beobachtungen von Dr. Filchner. auf seiner Reise in China und Tibet in den Jahren 1926–28. Veroffentl. d. Preuss. Meteorol. Inst. Potsdam, Nr. 79, Bd. IX, Nr. 7. Berlin, 1931.

Verneau (R.).

1816. Les "mystères" a Lhassa. **L'Anthropologie, XV,** 485.

[1] With Russian summary.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Veuillot (EUGENE).

1817. Le Thibet et les Missions françaises dans la Hanlī-Asie. Moeurs Chinoises et thibétaines; Voyage de M.M. Auc et Gabet. **Revue des Deux-Mondes, XV.** Juin, 1850.

Vidyabhusana (SATISCHANDRA).

1818. On certain Tibetan scrolls and images,[1] 1905. **Mem. A.S.B., I, 1.**

1819. Gyantse rock inscription of Chos-rgyal-gnis-pa, a ruler under the Sakyapa hierarch in the fourteenth century A.D., 1906. **J.A.S.B., NS, II, 95.**

1820. A Tibetan almanac for 1906-7, 1906. **J.A.S.B., NS, II,** 455.

1821. Hetu-cacra-hamaru, or Dignāga's Wheel of Reasons; recovered from Lebrang in Sikkim, 1907. **J.A.S.B., NS, III,** 627.

1822. Indian logic as preserved in Tibet, 1907. **J.A.S.B., NS, III,** 95, 241 and 541.

1823. Nyāya-praveśa, or the earliest work extant on Buddhist logic by Dignaga, 1907. **J.A.S.B., NS, III,** 609.

1824. The Sāṁkhya philosophy in the Land of the Lamas, 1907. **J.A.S.B., NS, III,** 571.

1825. Sanskrit works on literature, grammar, rhetoric and a lexicography as preserved in Tibet, 1907. **J.A.S.B., NS, III,** 121.

1826. A descriptive list of works on the Madhyamika philosophy (No. 1), 1908. **J.A.S.B., NS, IV,** 367.

1827. Two Tibetan charms obtained by Lt.-Col. S. H. Godfrey in Ladakh, one for chasing away evil spirits and the other for compelling fortune, 1908. **J.A.S.B., NS, IV,** 253.

1828. Persian affinities of the Licchavis, 1908. **Indian Antiquary, XXXVII,** 78.

1829. Srid-pa-ho. A Tibeto-Chinese tortoise chart of divination, 1913. **Mem. A.S.B., V, 1.**

1830. Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha. **J.A.S.B., NS, VI,** 477.

1831. Bya-chos or the religion of birds. Calcutta.

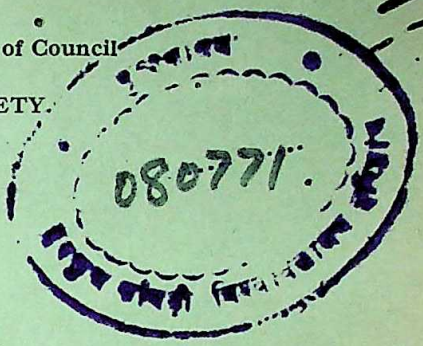
Vigne (G. T.).

1832. Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo, etc. 2 Vols. London, 1842.

[1] Lately brought from Gyantse.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Officers and Members of Council

ASIATIC SOCIETY.

1962

President

Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.

Vice-Presidents

Dr. A. C. Ukil, M.B., M.S.P.E., F.S.M.F.B., F.A.S.
Dr. N. Dutt, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Lit. (Lond.), F.A.S.
Dr. K. N. Bagchi, B.Sc., M.B., D.T.M., F.N.I., F.R.I.C.
Sri K. P. Khaitan, Barrister-at-Law.

Secretaries and Treasurer

General Secretary :—Sri S. K. Saraswati, M.A., F.A.S.
Treasurer :—Justice Sri A. N. Ray, M.A. (Cal.), B.A. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law.
Philological Secretary :—Professor Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A., Kavyatirtha.
Jt. Philological Secretary :—Dr. M. Saber Khan, M.A., A.M. (Michigan), D.Phil. (Oxon.).
Natural History Secretaries :— (Physical Science) Dr. U. P. Basu, D.Sc., F.N.I. (Biological Science) Dr. J. L. Bhaduri, D.Sc., F.N.I., F.A.S., F.Z.S.I.
Anthropological Secretary :—Dr. Bajra Kumar Chatterjee, M.A., D.Sc. (Paris).
Historical and Archaeological Secretary :—Dr. J. N. Banerjea, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.
Medical Secretary :—Dr. Ranes Chakravarty, M.B.B.S., F.R.C.S. (Eng.).
Library Secretary :—Dr. Sukumar Ray, M.A., D.Phil.
Publication Secretary :—Dr. Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.

Other Members of Council

Sri H. Banerjee, I.C.S.
Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (Oxon.).
Dr. P. C. Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.
Sri Samar Sen, M.Sc.

Nominees of the Government of India, New Delhi

Sri A. K. Ghosh (up to October, 1962).
Sri R. H. Chishti (from November, 1962).
Sri A. V. Venkateswaran (up to February, 1962).
Sri R. P. Padhi (from March, 1962).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Latest Publications of the Asiatic Society for Sale

1. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā.* English tr. by Dr. Edward Conze. Royal 8vo, 225 pp., 1958 .. Rs.15.00

2. *Origin and Development of Bhojpuri* by Dr. Udai Narain Tiwari. Royal 8vo, 282 pp., and 1 map. Monograph Series. Vol. X, 1960 .. .. Rs.30.00

3. *Nāgānanda.* Tibetan text with Sanskrit version. Ed. by Mm. Pt. Vidhusekhar Bhattacharyya. Royal 8vo, 258 pp., 1957 .. .. Rs.15.00

4. *Suttasaṃgaha,* an important Canonical Pali text. Ed. by Sri Ramaprasad Chaudhuri and Sri Deva Prosad Guha. Royal 8vo, 348 pp., 1957 .. .. Rs.15.00

5. *The Nāṭyaśāstra Ascribed to Bharata Muni,* Vol. II (Ch. XXVIII–XXXVI). Original Sanskrit text edited with introduction and various readings from MSS. and printed texts by Dr. M. Ghosh. Royal 8vo, 218 pp., 1956 .. .. Rs.15.00

6. *Bodhicaryāvatāra.* Tibetan text with Sanskrit version. Ed. by Mm. Pt. Vidhusekhar Bhattacharyya. Royal 8vo, 247 pp., 1960 .. .. .. Rs.25.00

7. *Kṛṣi-Parāśara.* Ed. and tr. by Dr. G. P. Majumdar and Dr. S. C. Banerji. Royal 8vo, 145 pp., 1960 Rs.7.50

8. *The Nāṭyaśāstra.* A Treatise on Hindu Dramaturgy and Histrionics ascribed to Bharata Muni, Vol. II (Ch. XXVIII–XXXVI). Completely translated for the first time from the original Sanskrit with an introduction and various notes by Dr. M. Ghosh. Royal 8vo, 298 pp., 1961 .. .. Rs.15.00

9. *The Caṇḍa-Kauśika of Arya Kṣemiśvara.* Ed. by Dr. (Mrs.) Sibani Das Gupta, with Introduction, full Critical Apparatus of Manuscripts, English Translation and Indices. Royal 8vo, 238 pp., 1962 .. .. Rs.15.00

CALCUTTA:—Published by the Asiatic Society, and Printed by Bernard G. Ellis, Baptist Mission Press, 41A Acharyya Jagadish Bose Road.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFERENCE BOOK

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

Compiled
1999-2000

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.